

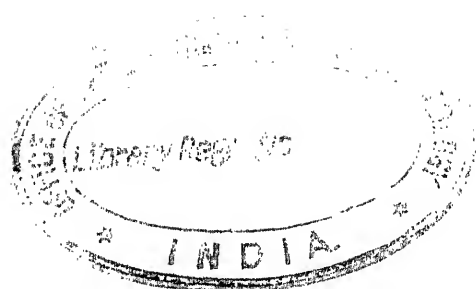
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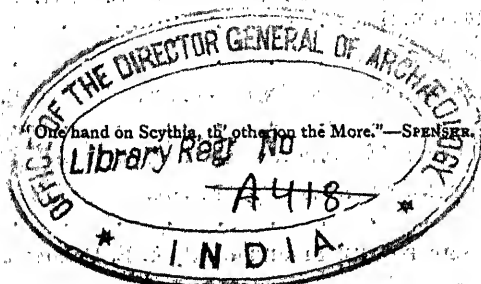
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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XXIX. Nos. 57 & 58.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1910.



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THE IMPERIAL
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Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1910.

GUN-RUNNING IN THE PERSIAN GULF—IS IT
FOR OR AGAINST BRITISH INTERESTS?

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

GUN-RUNNING must be a very fascinating trade. More than thirty years ago I found myself quartered at Nassau in the Bahamas. Twelve years had gone by since the glorious old days of blockade-running, but the memories of Hobart Pasha (who ran the blockade under the *nom de guerre* of "Captain Roberts") and Thomas Taylor were still fresh in all minds, as also of the time when the negro earned a pound a day for loading and unloading and when the speculative trader, who shipped his goods for Savannah, Charleston, Galveston, or Wilmington, thought little of cent. per cent. profits. If you would wish for a glimpse of Nassau life in 1863, read the seventh chapter of "Running the Blockade," by Thomas E. Taylor. Mr. Julian Corbett, in his introduction to the book, draws inferences which may carry some comfort to those minds which picture England *starved* into surrender in time of war. He represents thousands of vessels, some neutral, some flying the British flag, running the blockade in defiance of the investing and invading forces.

If a few fast paddle-boats emerging from the ports of Cuba, Bermuda, and the Bahamas could elude the Federal warships and carry luxuries and necessities to Confederate

ports, and if hundreds of ships flying neutral flags could bring food supplies to blockaded Britain, how much simpler is it to land a cargo of rifles at any point along the desolate shores of Persia and Mekran! If you ask me whence come all the rifles, I can only hazard the plausible guess, "from every civilized country in the world." Have we not heard of our own country's enemies fighting our troops with weapons and munitions supplied by our own traders? The man who has money to make is not scrupulous. It is perfectly true that the rifles which reach the inhabitants of the huge tract of desert, oasis, and mountain which stretches from the Persian Gulf to the Mid-Asian steppes, will in all probability be used to carry death into the ranks of our own regiments; but does the manufacturer or trader or shipper pay heed to that? If he sought to frame an excuse, it would doubtless take this form: "If I do not do it, someone else will. Why should I lose my profits?" That line of argument condones much.

When one who has left India nearly five years ago, and whose chief personal experience of Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan lies within the period 1879 to 1890, endeavours to picture to himself the destination of the rifles which are landed in Persia or Mekran and conveyed inland, the picture must be in some measure an effort of imagination. Those Eastern countries which would seem to have used cannon before Europe knew them, and in which the jezail, less than a century ago, proved itself more than a match for "Brown Bess," have during the last half-century fallen hopelessly behind the West in the manufacture of firearms. To the Afghan of to-day there is no treasure to equal a '303. Neither horse nor hound nor lovely woman could hold the place in his heart that the slender barrel and pencil cartridge have won. And what the Afghan loves, the Kurd and the Turk, the Baluch and the Brahui, the Persian and the Uzbeg, the Bakhtiari and the Luri, the Hazara and the Balti, the Kirghiz and the Turcoman all love. We

can thus conceive the magnificent market that lures the blockade-runner of the Persian Gulf, and gives lively occupation to His Majesty's gunboats. It is galling, no doubt, to feel that the Amir Habibullah is stocking his arsenals, and that the turbulent tribesman of the north-west frontier is preparing a warm reception for our next punitive expedition. But when I read Hobart Pasha's "Story of My Life," and Thomas Taylor's "Running the Blockade," I see very clearly how futile must be the attempt of two or three gunboats to check the rifle-running of the Persian Gulf. We had better make up our minds that in all future frontier wars '303 must meet '303. And for that matter the magazine rifle has been in the hands of our frontier foes for the last fifteen or twenty years. The day of the jezail is over. Moreover, theft on and within the north-west frontier of India supplements the stock which comes by sea. Was it not in Dir or Chitral that whole boxes of Dum-Dum ammunition were found—boxes stolen in dozens, and *never missed* from the factory or arsenal? The lust of that far-reaching quick-firing weapon with its slender projectile sharpens wits, with which the honest British sailor and soldier find it hard to cope.

It is less easy to predict to-day the future of the two monarchies, the territories of which are interposed between Russia and India, than it was ten years ago. Then the future of Central Asia seemed to rest in the hands of Great Britain and Russia. Now a third European Power has intervened — Germany. I have always attributed the Anglo-Russian Agreement, defining the spheres of influence of the two high contracting powers in Persia and Afghanistan, to the conviction which had at last dawned both on Great Britain and Russia, that the common enemy of both was Germany. Abdül Hamid may never see Yildiz Kiosk again except in his dreams, but the friendship between him and the Emperor William II. has borne its fruit. Strong is the hold of Germany on Syria, and strong is the hold which the Constantinople-Baghdad Rail-

way will give to Germany on Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Welcome, then, to every subject of our King is the plan of Sir William Willcocks for the irrigation of Mesopotamia and for the construction of a railway from Baghdad via Palmyra or Aleppo to the Syrian coast near Tyre or Sidon. We Britons have got to fight for our line of communication between the British Isles and India. We have, it is true, the Suez Canal and the Cape Route, but the progress of the age is raising up to those dangerous rivals, at least for passenger traffic and mails. The Trans-Caspian line has long looked in vain across the passes of the Paropamisus, and yearned to bridge the gulf between Ashkabad and Quetta. The German longs to link Smyrna and Ismid by rail with Baghdad, and both Powers alike desire to get that foothold on the Persian Gulf, which, as the eminent American writer, Captain Mahan (among many others), has pointed out, will constitute a grave menace to the tranquillity of our Indian Empire.

Persia and Afghanistan, while Great Britain, Russia, and Germany are pursuing their several schemes of aggrandizement around them, seem to be moulding their own destinies—and on what different lines! Who, writing a quarter of a century ago, foretold the startling changes in the administration of Russia, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan which the last five years have brought forth? Three of them have adopted constitutional government, while the fourth, although jealously excluding the European, is slowly absorbing the methods of its European contemporaries. Next to Japan, Afghanistan takes the palm for progress in the last quarter of a century.

Turkey is in a position to solve its own problems of armament and equipment, but that is not so in Persia and Afghanistan. I can hardly believe that the Russian Government allows any traffic in arms across the Russo-Afghan frontier, and it is known well that the Indian Government jealously controls the passage of rifles and ammunition across the North-West Frontier into the Amir's terri-

tory. Small wonder, then, that the contraband traffic in arms and ammunition from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the Mid-Asian markets has an irresistible fascination for the numberless nomad races of the Perso-Baluch border. There is a fortune to be made out of it.

I do not myself believe that the dissolution of either Turkey, Persia, or Afghanistan is imminent. Each of them possesses its own policy, on very different lines, and under very different conditions. Those of Persia and of Afghanistan bid fair to build up two Powers which will in time set at defiance all the conditions of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Bear in mind that when three Powers are rivals for the control of a people and a territory which each covets, their very rivalry strengthens the hands of the coveted object. What is the story of Turkey and the Concert of Europe? While Great Britain, Russia, and Germany each pursues the policy of its own, or what it thinks to be its own, self-interest, let them also reflect that they are building up the prosperity of the coveted lands. (The same reflection is suggested by China.) Is Germany constructing the Asia Minor railways for the love of the "Unspeakable"? Is Sir William Willcocks re-irrigating Mesopotamia under inspiration drawn from the legends of the Garden of Eden? Is Russia thirsting for the Merv-Herat-Kandahar railway from love of humanity, as Kuropatkin once told Colonel C. E. Yate at Ashkabad? No!

Then, for the gun-running; let me say that no man knows whether its fruit will bring England and India weal or woe. Will those who use those arms and that ammunition be for or against us? We do not know. I wish every success to the British gunboat which hunts the smugglers, because it is a British gunboat; *but* there is a little sympathy in my heart for the "gun-runner." If the Amir arms well a strong army, he or his successors may live to turn those arms against the foes of Britain.

OUR KINSFOLK DOMICILED IN INDIA —EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN.

By R. CARSTAIRS.

I. THEIR INTRODUCTION.

KNOWN to few in this country ; despised by most of those few. This would be a fairly correct introduction of these kinsfolk of ours.

"Why, then, introduce them?" the reader may ask.

Because of our Indian Empire, in which they fill an important place ; because they are of our blood—part of us. What touches them, touches us ; their ailments are ours. Because, as a man, when his body ails in any part seeks a cure for it, so must the nation, if this part of her body is in need of help, give it help.

This is a plea for help.

"Oh, rich man," such a plea most often begins, "behold a beggar by the wayside. Have pity on him, and give him alms!"

But this plea runs differently.

"Oh, strong man," it says, "who with thy hands hast mighty tasks to do, behold, thy hand aileth. Neglect it not, lest it fail thee in thy work!"

II. THE BRITISH COMMUNITY (EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN) RESIDENT IN INDIA: ITS PLACE IN OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

In the game of politics, national interests are sometimes sacrificed to party exigencies. For this reason, perhaps, among others, certain of our greater institutions, vital to our national well-being, are kept out of the arena of party strife. One of these is our Indian Empire.

A great Empire, covering one-fifth of the whole human race ! An Empire whose loss, all our political leaders are

agreed, would be a heavy blow to our nation. All parties are resolved that Britain shall hold India.

It is good for our Indian Empire to be out of politics, but there is at least one drawback. The average British elector, seeing that it is not attacked by any great party, will not believe that it needs looking after. He trusts it, like the tides and the seasons, to look after itself. While the world asks how Britain came to hold India, and how long she can go on doing so, he is content with the fact that Britain holds India to-day. Since influential statesmen gave up crying: "Perish India!" he has dismissed the thought of danger.

There are, however, two dangers in sight, neither of which is under our domestic control. Some other great nation—for ours is not the only great nation—may seek to take India from us; or India herself may try to cast off our hold. Surely, then, we ought to examine the position, that we may be able to foresee the dangers ahead, and be ready to meet them.

Britain holds India. How? Many answers are given to this question.

One man says, by the sword; another, by our justice; a third by our religious faith; and there will be half a dozen answers besides, all more or less true. We need not discuss which is nearest the truth, for they all lead to one and the same point, which is this:

Britain, on one side of the globe, cannot rule India on the other by correspondence only. There is need of a human agency, and that agency, in this case, is the resident British community. If we say we hold India by the sword, that means that her people believe in our fighting-powers; and they know those powers through the fighting-men whom we have been sending among them—all, while among them, members of the resident British community. Similarly, they know our justice through those whom we send to administer justice; and our religious faith, humanly speaking, to some extent through those whom we send to

proclaim it, but far more through those of our race, living among them, who show it forth in their lives—all members of the same community. No matter what form of influence may be mentioned, it can only be exerted through that community. All the various forms of influence which Britain exerts in India may be summed up in one word—*Prestige*.

Britain holds India by the power of her prestige ; and the HAND with which she holds is the RESIDENT BRITISH COMMUNITY.

III. BRITAIN'S HAND.

The importance of this resident British community—the hand wherewith a great nation holds a vast empire—can hardly be exaggerated. Of what manner of people does it consist ?

It is a mixture of races—two-thirds European and one-third Eurasian. Of the Europeans, nine-tenths are British—from the British Isles, the Colonies, and India ; one-tenth foreigners from nearly every country of Europe and America.

The Eurasians : To explain a thing to those who know nothing about it is not easy ; to explain away a bad reputation, well nigh impossible. But, as the Eurasians are a large majority of our domiciled kinsfolk, whose case is being presented, both these tasks, hard though they be, must be faced !

IV. THE EURASIANS.

Those who are officially known as Eurasians are, as their name signifies, of mixed European and Asiatic descent. In India the word “ Asiatic ” practically means “ Indian.”

For two centuries before 1757, the year that marks the beginning of Britain's Empire in India, that of the Moguls was shaking. Many powers—European and Indian—grasped at their falling sceptre. Portugal, France, Holland, all made bids for the place in which we now sit.

In those days European women did not go to India.

Only men went, to trade, to fight, and to govern ; some for their own countries, others for native potentates. Romantic and surprising were their careers—their lives full of peril and hardship.

Many men went, few returned. Of most, the short history is that they lived out their lives in that far-off land empire-building ; that their bones lie in its soil, and that on their strong work we now stand. They took mates of the women of India, and their children were Eurasians.

Within the last half-century, besides an increase in the fighting and governing elements, there has been an expansion of the commercial, industrial, and professional classes of the community.

Throughout these three centuries the average European immigrant has been the pick of his race. The Eurasian has reason to be proud of his European ancestors.

The whole world of India has contributed Indian ancestors for the Eurasians—some noble, most of them obscure. The variety is so prodigious that no general description is attempted.

In modern days, though European women go out to India, they are still outnumbered by the men ; and many men form unions in the country, and have Eurasian children. The great body of Eurasians of the present day are, however, the children not of Europeans and Indians, but of Eurasians. Most of them look back to many generations of Eurasian ancestors. He who can trace his lineage to one of those famous empire-builders of bygone centuries is as proud of it, and justly so, as those Englishmen who boast of having "come over with the Conqueror."

The two distinguishing marks of the Eurasian are : First, that he has in his veins both European and Indian blood ; second, that in religion, dress, customs, and feelings he clings to the European connection.

V. THE EURASIANS : THEIR REPUTATION.

That there is a prejudice against the Eurasians is undoubted. So convinced are they themselves of it, so hopeless of being able to remove it, that a section of them have determined to repudiate the name and take the name of Anglo-Indians.

There are objections to this. The first is that the word "Anglo-Indian" is already used in a different sense in Britain. If only those who have both English and Indian blood are included under it, we shall have to find another word instead of that which we made and are using.

Again, the word "Anglo-Indian" in the new sense is only a narrower "Eurasian," and excludes those of Portuguese, French, and Dutch ancestry, who have as good a title to be called Europeans as the descendants of Englishmen.

But what good can come of a change of name, when the prejudice is not against the name, but against the people?

We British look down on the Eurasian. Why? Because of his mixed blood and dark skin, and because we do not believe in his capabilities.

Let us examine these two motives, race-pride and distrust, and consider how far the facts justify our attitude.

VI. RACE-PRIDE.

Race-pride, within limits, is a virtue. No man worth his salt is without it. But carried to excess it becomes race-hatred, causing a man to detest his neighbour merely because of the blood in his veins. The feeling in this country is very nearly, if not altogether, one of race-hatred towards the Eurasian. How does our nation—itsself a mixture of races, if ever there was one—come to harbour a sentiment so foreign to the national religion and character?

Probably we got it from the United States. It is there that our race has been in closest contact with the tropical races, and in the Southern States race-hatred against

mixed blood and the dark skin is more intense than anywhere else in the world.

We seem, at all events, to have got it from some other source than India, for it is stronger—less tempered—in our countrymen who have never been in contact with Eurasians than in those who have.

Many good people at home are fond of carping at the narrow-mindedness of their brethren in the fringes of the civilized world. Here is an interesting case of the opposite, and the clue may be found in the United States. We are not obliged to judge our cousins for this apparent error from the tenets of the religion which they and we alike profess. But neither ought we blindly to adopt their sentiments and apply them everywhere.

Even granting that they are right, there may be differences between the Eurasian of India and the mulatto, Creole, quadroon, and octeroon of the States. Let us see.

VI. A CONTRAST—BLOOD.

The mulatto is a man of mixed blood and a dark skin. So is the Eurasian; and there the resemblance ends.

The blood so detested by our cousins in the States is the negro blood from Africa. There is not a drop of African blood in the Eurasian. His Indian blood is Asian, not African.

Strange to say, if a mulatto in India is taken for a Eurasian, he is offended; so is a Eurasian if taken for a mulatto. Race-pride sometimes seems just a little ridiculous, does it not? Ah, yes, in thee, but not in me!

If we were taught correctly at school, we Britons are of Asiatic origin—Aryans—like some of the dominant castes among the Hindoos, whom we call our Aryan brothers. And if it is objected that most Hindoos are not Aryans, let it be remembered that we do not recognize caste—that is, race distinction—and that we make Hindoos who turn Christian give it up.

The Hindoos with the Mahomedans form the bulk of

the population of India. Mahomedanism is not a race, but a religion. There is no such thing as Mahomedan blood. The Mahomedan believes, like ourselves, that all men are brothers, made and cared for by the same God. Like ourselves, he has his pale, setting bounds to God's love and favour—a pale which does not coincide with ours.

Asia gave us our religion. It was an Asian, one Saul of Tarsus, who, speaking to a European audience in the city of Athens, first enunciated to Europe the truth, since accepted by all Europe, that God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." This truth is rehearsed every Sunday in the Anglican churches of India, for it forms the subject of a special prayer composed by Bishop Cotton, and incorporated with the Indian version of the Prayer-Book.

We are entitled, therefore, to disregard the race-hatred of our cousins against negro blood as not relevant to the Eurasian question, and may further hold with some confidence that, while the European blood of the Eurasian is at least up to the Home average, his Indian blood is not distinctly inferior.

VII. MIXTURE OF BLOOD.

Someone may say that, even assuming Indian blood to be as good as British blood, nevertheless the mixture of the two is a bad thing.

It is something gained if the admission is made that the mixture is no less a pollution of the Indian than it is of the British blood. In return for it this much may be conceded: that a marriage between one of our nation and a native Indian is, owing to the many differences in religion, laws, customs, and habits between the communities to which they belong, often unhappy. Even in our own society, where no race question arises, a marriage between persons differing in religious connection, station, or other circumstances, is very properly discouraged. To those who think of making a mixed marriage, Mr. Punch's famous advice to

all who are about to marry — "Don't!" — is peculiarly applicable.

But when a man has made up his mind to marry the woman of his choice, he is apt to defy prudence and take the plunge. And then, what are we to do about it? Admitting the imprudence, are we to visit it upon the children? That would be unfair.

Let us return to our contrast. A European race rules in the United States. In their hands are the land, the wealth, and the power; theirs are the established religion, customs, and laws. Their ancestors imported negroes from Africa to be their slaves, and slaves the negroes were up to the time, forty-five years ago, when slavery was abolished in the States. As slaves, negroes could not hold property or marry. They were bought and sold, driven, tortured, or put to death at their master's will, no man gainsaying. A child with the least drop of negro blood in its veins, even if its father were its mother's white owner, was a slave, with no human rights.

In the Southern States, where slavery was formerly a settled institution, the old hatred of negro blood still exists. Thus, in an American novel ("Senator North," by Gertrude Atherton), whose scene is laid in the time of the recent war with Spain, we read of a high-souled Southern gentleman married to a beautiful woman of apparently pure European blood, whom he dearly loved. His wife had a slight, unnoticeable taint of the negro, and when he came to know of it he was so horrified that he shot himself.

In India the Indians are at home. They hold the land and the wealth; they form practically the whole population, outnumbering Europeans and Eurasians together by over eleven hundred to one. From ancient times India has been organized in great States, under mighty Kings, with magnificent courts, vast armies, noble palaces, wonderful temples, and fabulous wealth. Her merchants have been many and rich, her artisans industrious and skilful, her sages learned and wise.

For two centuries all this vast system was in the melting-pot. On all sides were turmoil and confusion, and everywhere, riding and controlling the storm, wresting from it wealth and fame, were European and Eurasian adventurers, commanding armies, governing kingdoms, conducting trade.

For all these men, if they desired, there were Indian wives. Some married princesses. Whereas in the United States children of mixed blood were thrust down among the slaves, the children of these mixed marriages in India were treated as the honoured sons of honoured fathers, and great families were thus founded.

In modern India there is no place for the soldier of fortune and the adventurer. The brilliant days of the European in India are over ; all is now drab. But even to-day the meanest European of pure blood is a man of importance, and can get a good Indian-born wife if he wants one.

"Indian-born!" the reader may exclaim. "Why can't Europeans marry European wives?"

Many do ; but in early days there were none to be had, and, in the more recent times of leanness, Indian-born wives are cheaper. An English wife costs more to keep than a poor man can afford. Is it not also conceivable that here and there a man may marry an Indian woman because they love one another ? Indian women are proverbially affectionate and faithful wives, and we cannot think so meanly of our countrymen as to suppose them incapable of inspiring affection in a woman of another race. Though they be in exile, let us not deny them their romance.

Europeans do not as a rule marry Eurasians, and Eurasians do not marry pure Indians. Eurasians therefore, for the most part, marry one another.

VIII. MORALITY.

An offshoot of the prejudice against the mixed blood and the dark skin is the moral objection, which one would fain pass by in silence, were it not that this objection alienates the sympathy of many good people.

From the very fact of his existence, the inference is frequently drawn that the Eurasian is the offspring of vice. How else, it is asked, could he have come into being? This argument can, like the others, be traced to its home in the Southern States. Since there could be no binding marriage between a white man and a woman in whose veins there was a single drop of negro blood, the child of such a union was necessarily the offspring of vice—of a form of vice strongly condemned by local public opinion.

In India the case was always different. In the early days, no doubt, when parsons with power to solemnize marriages were as rare as European women, the Europeans in India had to appropriate their wives as best they could. In the outlying regions of the world men have often to supply their wants without the professional help of clergymen, lawyers, and doctors, on whom we in the centre are wont to rely; and many of the marriages made in those days were what we should call irregular.

If this was sin, it cannot be very heinous, when, as there is no reason to doubt, the parties to the union usually loved and were faithful to one another, cherishing and doing their duty by their children.

Let it be remembered, also, that these men, Christians in the midst of Hindoos, Mahomedans, and other unbelievers in our religion, remained Christian, and brought up their children in the Christian faith, and that, living in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however irregular their lives might be, they could not be worse—they were probably much better—than their countrymen at home. They lived and died long centuries ago, and their descendants have surely purged the offence of the original union, if any, by the regular marriages of many generations, not very prosperous, but quite respectable.

“But, surely,” our moral critic may say, “you cannot deny that among our countrymen in India there are cases of promiscuous living and of desertion, which you would hardly defend?”

There are such cases, and they cannot be defended. The complaint is not that such things are denounced, but that a stigma is fixed on the whole Eurasian community for the faults of men who are not Eurasians, but belong to us, the fault-finders. The frequent result of promiscuous intercourse is a foundling child, and we cry out against the Eurasians when the child is brown. Would things be any better if the child were white? Is it the colour or the sin that gives offence?

As regards desertion, Europeans who have brown children by irregular unions are of two classes, the poor and the prosperous. It is the prosperous sinner who most frequently deserts his children, for the poor cannot afford to run away. When he comes Home, how do we receive him? If he is rich enough, we receive him with open arms into society, into the Church, into our families, even to giving him our daughter in marriage. The brown children he has deserted are decently passed into oblivion.

What is it, then, that we condemn? The sin or the poverty of the sinner?

We talk sometimes from our pulpits and our family pews as if there were no such thing in our own country as promiscuous living and desertion of children, when we know how much there is. True, we have here no millions of Indians, no Eurasians; and the children are white, not brown. But the sin is there. We call attention to the mote in our Eurasian brother's eye—the mote we ourselves put there—and, behold, a beam is in our own eye!

The subject is not a pleasant one, but someone has to speak out. It will never do to pretend not to hear the whispers, the murmurs, the outspoken language that one hears so often.

The writer of these lines with his own ears heard a minister of a Christian church in Scotland propound the opinion that, as Eurasian children in India are the offspring of vice, we ought not to help them lest we should be encouraging vice. And this idea that they are the off-

spring of vice is very prevalent. There are some in India, as there are here, who answer to the description ; but it is no more true of our whole community in India than it is of our whole community at home.

The inference that therefore we should do nothing to help children with such a pedigree is also far too popular. Had this saying not actually been uttered, it would have seemed incredible that such words should fall from the lips of a sincere servant of Him who came "to seek and to save such as are 'lost.'" It shows, moreover, such a perverted moral sense to blame Eurasians for the sin of our own people—our own sin—to try to put away our shame by laying it on their shoulders, that one hopes it was uttered from want of thought, and that a good many who have entertained the idea will, when they think, give it up.

If we really disapprove of the sin of our countrymen, let us follow the example of Barnardo, Quarrier, and their like, whose attitude towards its offspring comes much nearer to the precepts and example of our Divine Master than that of this ghostly adviser, who would have us, like the slave-owners, thrust them down out of sight among the slaves.

X. THE DOMICILED.

At the head of this paper the word "domiciled" appears. Who are the "domiciled" ?

They are that part of our resident community (which includes Eurasians) whose permanent home is in India. If the army be left out of account, the "domiciled" section is considerably more than half of the whole. Nearly all the Eurasians and a large number of Europeans are in this class.

Domicile means citizenship. Every person has a domicile. It has nothing to do with blood, being a legal status. A man cannot have more than one domicile at the same time, but he can change. Every Indian has a domicile. When we speak, however, of "the domiciled," we mean those of our blood in India who have an Indian domicile.

Perhaps the matter can best be explained by supposing a case.

There is a family of four—William, James, Thomas, and Mary—all born and bred in Devonshire, of pure Devon stock, and all having an English domicile. William, James, and Thomas go to India, and a handsome Mahomedan from India woos and wins Mary for his bride, and takes her to his country.

William marries a Eurasian ; James marries his old love from Devonshire, like himself of pure English stock ; and Thomas, who does not marry, lives with a native Indian woman. All have families, born in India. Those of William, Thomas, and Mary are Eurasian ; that of James is pure English.

William and Thomas decide not to remain in India, but to go back to England. James buys land, builds a house, and settles for good in India. Thus William and Thomas retain their English domicile ; James gives up his, and takes an Indian domicile ; and Mary takes her husband's domicile, also Indian.

William's Eurasian children take their father's domicile, and are English ; James's pure English children, following their father, are Indian ; Thomas's Eurasians take their mother's domicile, because she is not their father's legal wife, and are domiciled Indians. Mary's children, taking their father's domicile, are Indians.

This case shows how small is the dividing line between domiciled and non-domiciled ; it may be crossed at any time in either direction by any person. But by members of the resident British community it is crossed almost invariably in one direction. The domiciled Indian who would exchange for an English domicile must be a prosperous man, and such men are rare ; but to exchange his English domicile for an Indian one, a man has only to fail, for then he must settle in India, not being able to get away.

Between the domiciled and non-domiciled, then, though

the boundary-line is so easy to pass, there is a clear distinction—the distinction between the poor quarter and the rich quarter of a great town. In the non-domiciled section are most of the able-bodied men in the prime of life ; in the domiciled, comparatively few of these, and more non-efficients—women, children, the aged, the infirm, the weak-minded, paupers, and loafers—its own inefficients ; and the failures, the wastrels, the waifs, and deserted children of the non-domiciled who drift into it.

Perhaps the thoughtful reader may have some sympathy to spare for this pitifully small band of efficients, hopelessly weighed down by, and entangled in, an overwhelming mass of inefficiency. During the last fifty years the domiciled section has been adversely affected by three circumstances.

The first is the immense advance of education, which has fitted native Indians to compete for all kinds of work once given to the domiciled, who either lose it, or have to do it for less wages.

The second is the development of organized industries, which require highly trained skilled labour, combined with the cheapening of transport. Employers prefer to get their European workers from Europe, and the domiciled are rejected. Not only do the domiciled suffer from this preference, but the children of many workers whom it has drawn into India suffer in the next generation. It is a system of scrapping and replacing, which may be economical for the employers, but is cruel to the men, and bad for the community. The human machinery scrapped and thrown away is nearly all shot into the domiciled section of our resident community when done with.

The third circumstance is this : With their field of labour cut into on the one side by native Indian labour, skilled and unskilled, and on the other by imported European skilled labour, an ever larger proportion of the domiciled are being squeezed out of remunerative employment. At a time when there is greater need than ever of a high training to enable them to hold their own, the means

wherewith to obtain such a training is passing more and more out of their reach. The community is like a garden going out of cultivation for want of capital, and producing little but weeds.

XI. SHALL WE DROP THEM?

So far we have been considering the Eurasians from the race point of view. Let us now examine them from the point of view of efficiency. So much of the prejudice against them has been because of race that we must not hastily accept current opinion as to their powers. They are, to quote Sir James Bourdillon, "in the great majority of cases, poor, feckless, and degraded."

From an employer's point of view, we have no use for them. Native Indian and imported European labour cover the whole field. They are bad material, weak in body, mind, spirit, and character. Why waste trouble and thought over them? Better drop them! And, in truth that is what we are doing—we are dropping them. Is not this an obvious and easy solution of the problem? No, we cannot drop them, for, to quote Sir James Bourdillon again, "they have in their veins the blood of the ruling race." They are part of our nation—a very prominent part; for they, with the European residents, form the very hand our nation depends on for holding India.

He is a fool who, when some part of his body ails, neglects it, and lets it go from bad to worse. The wise man spares no trouble or expense until he finds a cure for it. He is not content because the rest of the body is sound. So also the nation must cherish her ailing member. The worse it is, the more the need of care. We have to bear in mind that Britain HOLDS INDIA, not by the SCRUFF OF THE NECK, but by THE HAND. Not only must Britain hold India, but India must hold Britain; and India may properly insist that the hand held out to her shall be sound and clean. What do we feel in society when a man thrusts out a paw, obviously dirty and neglected, perhaps diseased,

and expects us to take it in our own? Surely, disgust. And what if he explains that it is too far gone to do anything with? Only more disgust. Let us be careful not to arouse this feeling in India.

An essential condition of the stability of our Indian Empire is that Britain should retain the friendship and esteem of India. If we lose these, the Empire cannot last.

Now, one of the tests by which India tries our fitness for the place we hold is the manner in which we deal with our domiciled. This is a test of two things: First our natural disposition; and second, our determination to overcome difficulties—both qualities of great importance to India in the nation to whose guidance she entrusts her destinies.

Out of the first test we have not, so far, come with credit. A distinguished Indian, writing of the Eurasians, has reproved the "cruel aloofness" of the Europeans towards them, and he broadly hints that it has been noticed and condemned by the great Indian communities, in whose eyes few duties are more sacred than that of caring for one's own kinsfolk.

By the second test also we have hitherto failed. The domiciled community has been compared to a garden going out of cultivation, and we are trying to persuade ourselves and the world that this is all as it should be, since the soil is not worth cultivating. We have, however, no right to abuse the soil until we have done for it all that cultivation can do, and as yet we have done almost nothing.

"It is easy enough," says the same distinguished Indian, "to find fault with them, but I do not know that any very serious attempt has been made to help them." In short, Britain's aloofness, and her long failure to solve the problem of the "domiciled," have caused her to slip back in the esteem of India.

If she would retrieve her character for right feeling, she will have to drop, not the domiciled, but her "aloofness"; and her reputation for overcoming difficulties can only be

retrieved by grappling with the problem of the "domiciled" and successfully solving it.

XII. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

In examining the case with a view to action, we are at once met by two prominent facts :

The first is that many Eurasians have gained for themselves individually a high reputation for efficiency and integrity.

The second is that domiciled Europeans who have no Indian blood are thought little more of than Eurasians.

These facts indicate that circumstances have something to say to a man's efficiency or inefficiency as well as blood.

Then, searching for the circumstances that matter, we come upon a further fact, that residence in India has no adverse effect on Europeans who have grown up elsewhere, and entered India as adults.

Another fact is that resident parents who can afford it, send their children to Europe or the hills for training, out of the climate of the plains and coast, and out of their vicious moral atmosphere. It is among those who have been thus sent away for training that we find most of the efficient among the domiciled.

Efforts are being already made for the solution of the problem. The method which commands the most general assent to-day is that of the St. Andrew's Colonial Homes at Kalimpong in the Himalayas. Their object, concisely stated, is "to bring within reach of poor European and Eurasian children in India a sound training in a cool and healthy climate, under good and moral influences." Here it is believed we have the key to the problem of the "domiciled."

We have got the method but not the means. The resident community is manfully doing its best ; but its best is only a little part of all that is needed. What will the nation do to back it?

The object of this paper, which was not to discuss the

whole subject, but simply to introduce our domiciled kinsfolk in India to their kinsfolk at home, has now been fulfilled, and it must close. It cannot close better than with a repetition of the opening plea :

“ Oh, strong nation, whose hands have mighty tasks to do, behold, this thy hand aileth ! Neglect it not, lest it fail thee in thy work ! ”

THE NEED AND METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.*

BY ATUL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, B.A., I.C.S.

IN April last a valuable and suggestive paper on this subject was contributed by Mr. F. J. E. Spring. The question has also been treated in more or less detail in various articles in the periodical Press during the last year or two. Some apology is therefore needed for the choice of the subject for another paper.

The very great importance at the present juncture of all the complex problems connected with the utilization of the industrial resources of the vast continent of India is my only excuse. Mr. Spring confined himself in his discourse almost exclusively to the educational aspect of the question. His lucid exposition of the many faults underlying the educational system now in vogue in India left little more to say. It must, however, be remembered that it was not possible for Mr. Spring, within the compass of his paper, to deal with all the aspects of the industrial problem, and it is my object to draw attention to some other branches of the same question.

The great importance of the subject will be gainsaid by few. The position of a state in the comity of nations is now adjudged in accordance with its economic strength. For the preservation of peace, the war expenditure of the nations is reaching enormous figures. In conformity with the progressive ideas of the day, vast sums are spent on schemes of social and sanitary reform and amelioration. All these objects involve heavy taxation, and heavy taxation can be borne only by a nation which has many sources of economic wealth. In India, agriculture is practically the only source of national wealth. Of all industries, agriculture is peculiarly dependent on variable atmospheric

* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

conditions, and it is extremely difficult to guard against unfavourable circumstances. The national revenues in India are on a very precarious basis, and it is therefore a heroic task to inaugurate any extensive scheme of social, administrative, or military reform which involves consistent expenditure of money for a prolonged period. This is perhaps an explanation of the defect noted by our late Commander-in-Chief, that statesmen in India do not look sufficiently ahead. In order, therefore, to raise the position of India, or even to maintain her position, among the various component states of the Empire, and in the scale of nations, it is imperative to multiply the sources of national wealth by developing industries other than agriculture. To avoid misapprehension I may mention I do not belong to the school that holds that my country is poorer now than it was one or two centuries ago, but the real question is, whether the wealth of India is increasing as fast as the wealth of the other countries of the world.

The imperative necessity of the development of the industrial resources of the country is also evident when we consider what is known as *personal* or *internal* wealth as distinguished from *material* wealth. In an agricultural country the great bulk of workmen are unskilled labourers, and although the landed gentry in every country is remarkable for its culture, enterprise and public spirit, there is a wide gulf between the two classes. Even in India at the present day, at least in North India, the stress of competition is gradually diminishing the number of peasant proprietors. The middle classes in such a society come to be composed almost entirely of men belonging to the public services, and the lower ranks of what are called the learned professions. Now it is a well-known fact in political science that public spirit and the feeling of a corporate life are fostered much more quickly in towns where there is an artisan class than in villages. The freedom of industry and enterprise, consisting of "a certain independence and habit of choosing one's own course for oneself; a self-

reliance; a deliberation and yet a promptness of choice and judgment; and a habit of forecasting the future and of shaping one's course with reference to distant aims"—all these qualities taken together—are, according to Professor Marshall, the fundamental characteristics of modern business life. These qualities will be developed in a nation only along with the growth of a many-sided industrial life, and they will be lacking in a state where all activity is limited to a few monotonous grooves. These are also the qualifications which fit and prepare a people for political life. The moral is obvious in the existing political situation of India.

In view of the intricacy and complexity of the problems, one welcomes the attention that has been bestowed on them in recent years by the official as well as the non-official world in India.

A great deal of important work has been transacted at the annual meetings of the All India Industrial Conference, held in successive years since 1905 at Benares, Calcutta, Surat and Madras. Similar conferences with more provincial aims have been held in other cities of the Empire. Some extremely able and informing papers have been contributed to these meetings by gentlemen holding responsible positions in the public service or in the industrial and mercantile world. A noteworthy feature of these conferences has been the discussion of the subjects in a broad, moderate, and rational spirit, altogether different from the tone one often sees displayed in the public Press and platform in India. Much credit is due to the organizers of the Conference for helping to create a healthy public opinion in India in industrial matters. The State has also helped in the same cause by timely and considered action. The new department of commerce and industry, initiated by Lord Curzon, had for its first minister Sir John Hewett, who is well known for his deep and abiding interest in industrial development. The department has ever since been sympathetic towards indigenous enterprise: the

organizers of the Tata Ironworks have publicly acknowledged their indebtedness to it for assistance in various forms. One of the very first acts of Sir John Hewett on assuming the reins of government in the United Provinces was to initiate a survey of its industrial condition and possibilities, and to preside at a conference in Naini Tal of representative officials and non-officials, which went thoroughly into the question of establishing a sound and comprehensive system of technical and industrial instruction suited to the needs of the province. The recommendations of the Conference were practically unanimous, and gradual effect is being given to them. Unhappily, the famine of 1907 and 1908 exhausted the financial resources of the province, and the larger schemes embodied in the resolutions of the Conference await more prosperous times. More recently the government of Sir John Hewett has taken another step towards the removal of irksome burdens on trade and industries by examining carefully the evil effects of the Octroi system of municipal taxation. The example of the Naini Tal Conference was followed by the Madras Government, who convened a similar conference at Ootacamund in the autumn of last year. The Ootacamund Conference had the advantage of a first-hand knowledge of the valuable pioneer work done in the province, often under very adverse conditions, by Mr. Chatterton. In the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, a representative conference, to deal with the same question, met at Dacca in February last.

In the matter of an industrial survey also, the action of the Government of the United Provinces has been followed by similar measures on the part of other Local Governments. In Bengal, the Honourable Mr. J. G. Cumming has brought up to date the industrial survey conducted by Mr. Collin in 1890. Mr. Cumming also examined thoroughly the present condition of technical and industrial instruction in the province, and his excellent report was published last autumn. The industrial survey of Eastern Bengal and

Assam was carried out by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I.C.S., and his report was the basis of the deliberations of the Decca Conference. In the Central Provinces, the industrial survey has been entrusted to the able hands of Mr. C. E. Low, C. I. E., and I expect his report will be soon before the public. The Government of Bombay, I understand, has decided to have the survey carried out in sections by experts in different industries, and a gentleman is now engaged in examining the indigenous textile industries of the presidency. As a result of these activities and deliberations, schemes of technical and industrial instruction have been formulated by all the Local Governments in India, and are now before the Supreme Government. The newspapers to hand by a recent mail state that these proposals have to wait till the present financial exigencies in India have disappeared. Our late Viceroy and the late Commander-in-Chief agree that in India one should look ahead. Large and comprehensive schemes take a considerable time to initiate, as a good many preliminary and sometimes unforeseen obstacles have to be overcome. It is therefore to be hoped that the schemes submitted by the Provincial Governments will receive early consideration and approval, so that initial arrangements may be taken in hand immediately, and the actual schemes launched as soon as money is available.

In another direction also a good deal of excellent work has been done in recent years. I refer to the holding of industrial and agricultural exhibitions and competitions. The initiative—one is pleased to note—came from unofficial sources. Exhibitions of the various indigenous industries of the country were held at Bombay and Benares in the autumn of 1904 and 1905. The exhibition held in Calcutta in the winter of 1906 received considerable aid, financial and otherwise, from the Government of Bengal, and was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy, who delivered a most sympathetic speech on the occasion. In the following year the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces

and Berar decided to co-operate with the responsible public leaders of the province in holding an exhibition at Nagpur. Thanks to the splendid organizing capacity of Mr. Low, of the Indian Civil Service, who was ably seconded by several non-official gentlemen, the Nagpur Exhibition of last winter was a remarkable success. The Government of the Punjab is now associating itself with the Princes and the public of the province in organizing an exhibition at Lahore during the ensuing winter. Arrangements are also already in progress in the United Provinces, with the direct aid and under the patronage of the local Government, to hold an exhibition at Allahabad in the winter of 1910-1911.

It is obvious that the Government, as well as the people, are now fully alive to the need of industrial development in India. There is, however, great diversity of opinion regarding the scope and method of such development, and the rest of this paper will be devoted to some consideration of this branch of the subject. It is exceedingly desirable that the principles on which industrial work should proceed should be clearly threshed out; although there is no one royal road to industrial progress, much waste of time and money and consequent disappointment will perhaps be avoided if we have from the beginning a clear conception of the ideals we are pursuing.

It may be taken as axiomatic that attention should first be directed to the establishment of such industries as would utilize raw material already available in the country, and would produce commodities for which there is an already existing demand in the country.

The Tata Ironworks afford an excellent illustration of this type of industry. The raw materials—iron ore and coal—are locally obtained; the main products—pig-iron and steel—if of sufficiently good quality, will have a ready market in India itself; the bye-products in the shape of various chemicals are also likely to be consumed in the country. Other examples of possible industries, which would have equally favourable conditions, would suggest them-

selves to all who have studied the trade figures of India. There is at present an enormous export of oil-seeds from India. The total value in 1906-1907 approached nine millions sterling. These seeds are utilized in Europe and America for the manufacture of various articles of commerce, and also for cattle food. During the last few years the export of cotton-seed from India has increased by leaps and bounds. If well-organized cotton oil-mills are established in India, there is every likelihood of the cake finding a ready sale as cattle-food in the country itself. The edible oil will sell as a suitable substitute for *ghī* (clarified butter), of which the supply is now falling short of the enhanced demand. The remaining products like soap-stock will also be useful for other growing industries in India. The prospects of the industry have been fully set forth in an excellent pamphlet written by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence.

Take again the case of paper. The import of paper into India in 1906-1907 was valued at more than half a million sterling. Education is spreading in India. The number of books and periodicals printed every year is increasing. The growing trade and commerce of the country would also help to augment the demand for paper. The raw materials for paper-making are available in the country, though not in an exactly accessible form. Fibrous grass from the forests at the foot of the Himalayas is now mostly used by the few Indian mills; but, with enterprise and organization, large supplies of wood pulp and wood meal could probably be made available from the forests of spruce and silver fir in the mountains. The trade in hides and skins affords another illustration of this same point. In 1906-1907 India exported more than ten millions' worth of hides and skins. The consumption of leather goods of all kinds is much larger now in India than it was thirty years ago. The import of boots and shoes only has practically doubled itself within the last ten years. Yet, the number of tanneries and properly equipped leather factories in the

country is exceedingly few. We may also glance at the business in dyes and tans. In the trading days of the East India Company the vegetable dyes and tans of India were among the staple objects of commerce between the East and the West. Now, the exports under this head, if indigo be excluded, are practically negligible, while the imports amount to nearly two-thirds of a million sterling. It is true a great portion of the imports consists of synthetic products of coal-tar, but the vegetable dyes and tans of India are still there. No systematic investigation has ever been made regarding a reduction in the cost of their manufacture, or an improvement in the processes of their utilization. They have simply been neglected. Moreover, as the Professor of Tinctorial Chemistry in one of the leading technical Universities in this country recently remarked to me, there is no reason why synthetic dye-products should not be built up from some of the numerous raw resources available in India. I have chosen this illustration to show how a certain amount of pure scientific research work must be done in order to facilitate the industrial revival of India. Much hope is entertained that the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore, which is now getting into working order, will accomplish much useful work in this direction. One must not, however, forget that India is a vast continent, and it will be impossible for one institution, however well equipped, to cope with the numerous problems that await solution in different parts of the Empire. In agriculture the State has recognized this point by employing scientists who devote themselves to the problems of each province apart from the experts who work at the Imperial Institute at Pusa. Similarly we require in India at the present day industrial research laboratories for each province. This is a moderate demand considering the numerous laboratories at work in European and American countries. Even England, which awoke rather late to the necessity of scientific industrial research, has now a large number of expensively equipped institutions dotted over the industrial centres of the country, and

they receive liberal aid from the State. If all this activity is necessary in countries pre-eminent in industry and commerce, how much more is it required in a backward State like India!

While all thoughtful persons are agreed that industrial development is urgently needed in India, there are two schools of opinion regarding the scale on which the industries should be revived or inaugurated. According to some authorities, efforts should be restricted to the regenerating of the many indigenous hand-industries that flourished in the country in days gone by, while others contend that in these days of mechanical and scientific improvements, when the whole world is one vast market, it is useless attempting to resuscitate or bolster up the dead or decaying cottage industries, and all endeavours should be directed towards the establishment of modern factories fully equipped with all the latest appliances, and manned in all ranks by the best trained labour. There is a great deal to be said from the sentimental and sanitary point of view in favour of the opinion of the first school. In cottage industries the artisan is master of himself, and his assistants are, as a rule, members of his own family. There is harmony in the work, with the result that the product has one, at least, of the essential qualities of art. Although the large industrial towns, like Bombay, Calcutta, or Cawnpore, are of comparatively modern growth, town-planning is a science yet unknown in India; the industrial towns are also the most insanitary, and artisans in these places live under the most unwholesome and, if one may use the expression, un-Indian conditions. Sentiment has, however, very little influence in business matters, and the experience of all western countries has demonstrated beyond doubt that hand-power in most manufactures has very little chance against mechanical power. Moreover, it is not certain that hand-workers, even in India in the days when there was practically no competition with the machine-made goods of the West, earned anything more than the absolutely bare

necessaries of life. During a fairly extensive inquiry into the indigenous industries of the United Provinces, nowhere did I come across any stories or traditions of a hand-worker rising to a position of wealth or affluence. As has also been pointed out by modern economists, the use of complex machinery enhances by a considerable degree the demand for judgment, intelligence, and generally faculties of a high order. Moreover, machinery performs the more fatiguing and monotonous parts of any particular manufacture, leaving the artisan free to devote himself to the parts of the work that are interesting and require skill and judgment in manipulation. The sentimental considerations are not, therefore, entirely in favour of hand-industries. As regards sanitary considerations, in the present conditions, if no attention is paid to the matter, a village can be as unhealthy as a town. In the province of Bengal the villages are, as a matter of fact, much more unhealthy than the towns, which have organized some system of drainage and water-supply. With the experience gained in the industrial towns in India in the past, and with lessons learned from the many recent town-planning experiments in Western countries, it should not be difficult to render the future industrial centres as sweet and healthy as the present towns and villages. The two chief arguments against the introduction of power industries are therefore not incontrovertible. It may, however, be at once conceded that in the purely art industries, which cater for a limited number of discriminating customers, hand-power will always retain a predominant position. Thus, no one advocates the introduction of extensive machinery in the manufacture of the beautiful silks of Benares, the embroideries of Agra, the pottery of Bulandshahr, or the art metal-work of Lucknow, Delhi, and Moradabad, although the adoption of better tools and appliances may be feasible and desirable in all these industries. The enthusiasts who have been in recent years working so steadfastly for the revival of Irish industries have grasped this point, and everyone admits that the

quality of the art products of Ireland, like laces and carpets and poplin, will only deteriorate if mechanical power be employed for their manufacture. The question of giving new life and vigour to the art industries of India has received considerable attention in recent times, and it is not necessary to dwell any longer on it in this paper. In the case of commodities, of which the demand is large, and only standard qualities are required, it is eminently desirable that the latest modern methods of manufacture should be employed. Sugar will afford an apt illustration of my meaning. It has been cultivated and manufactured in India from time immemorial, so much so that the Sanskrit word for sugar seems to have given the name for the commodity in most countries of the world. Even now sugar-cane is the most favourite crop in all rich land and among the best type of cultivators in Northern India. Sugar refining is perhaps the most important industry in the United Provinces, where the average annual produce has been roughly valued at ten crores of rupees, or seven million sterling. The methods of cultivation of the cane, owing partly to the system of land tenure and partly to defects of agriculture, are far from economical, while the industry of pressing the juice and refining and crystallizing it follows processes extremely crude, primitive, and wasteful. During the last few years, in spite of an artificial inflation of the demand for country sugar caused by sentiment and prejudice, the imports of cane sugar from Java have increased immensely in value. The sentiment in favour of country sugar is bound to die out sooner or later. The most up-to-date methods are in vogue in Java for both cultivation and manufacture. Japan is now making elaborate preparations for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar according to the latest scientific methods in the island of Formosa, which possesses a soil eminently suitable for cane. The indigenous industry in North India is threatened with ruin unless timely steps are taken to reorganize it on modern scientific lines. It is hardly neces-

sary to point out that any injury to the industry of sugar refining will have disastrous results on the best forms of cultivation in the tracts affected. Another illustration of the need for the introduction of modern machinery will be found in the conditions of the industry of manufacturing domestic vessels of brass and copper. There is a very large demand for this kind of article, and several towns in Northern India, like Mirzapur, Benares, Farrukhabad, Lucknow, and Moradabad in the United Provinces, Berhampur and Bankura in Bengal, thrive on this style of business. In the case of copper, imported sheets have always been used to a large extent. In recent years imported brass sheets have been fast replacing the use of old brass melted down or recast into new shapes. The artisans are fairly well paid, and the sanitary conditions of the industry are satisfactory. Within the last decade or so these metal-workers have been threatened with very serious competition. The consumption of machine-made enamelled iron-ware is increasing very much. Aluminium vessels turned out at the factory in Madras and also imported are gradually finding their way to remote country villages. The wealthier classes are taking to the use of glass, china, and earthenware. Moreover, mill-made brass and copper vessels of standard shape and size are being sold in the large bazaars, which were at one time monopolized by the hand-made article. Looking ahead for a quarter of a century or longer, one fears that the thriving brass-workers of North India will find their occupation gone unless meanwhile the industry is reorganized and power machinery utilized to replace the slow and fatiguing parts of the hand processes. There has been a good deal of controversy in recent years regarding the prospects of the hand-weaving industry in India. All over the country this is far the most important industry at present, and by all accounts the weavers just manage to earn a bare livelihood where they have not already been compelled to throw themselves on to the land or to adopt some other occupation.

Much attention has been devoted within the past few years to the invention and popularization of efficient looms and other accessories, and to the improvement of the condition of the weavers by many indirect methods. The measures adopted in the different provinces are all more or less in the experimental stage, and no safe deductions can yet be made. It seems clear, however, that the hand industry is the most likely to retain its position in the weaving of fine artistic fabrics and of very coarse cloth, the two extremes which the larger factories do not for obvious reasons care to touch. There is also a much greater prospect of the hand industry being successful when organized in the form of small factories managed by trained business men than when the individual weaver carries on all his work of buying and selling and manufacture unaided, without co-operation or division of labour. In other words, the hand industry has the greatest chances of survival when it adopts the methods of the power industry without actual resort to power machinery.

What I have said about the relative advantages of power and hand industries must not be taken to imply that I in any way deprecate or discountenance measures taken to foster cottage industries. On the other hand, I am strongly in favour of all possible steps being taken to give a systematic training to the workmen in their various crafts, to introduce more efficient tools and implements, and to enable the artisans to buy their raw materials in the best market, and to sell their finished products for the most advantageous prices. We are now in India passing through the period of transition in industrial methods that took place in Europe between 1780 and 1830. The industrial revolution in England, as you are all aware, caused untold misery to individual workers. With the experience of Europe to guide us, our object should be to minimize individual suffering as far as possible, and gradually to fit the handworkers of India for the changes that must come eventually.

Another point on which much difference of opinion has prevailed is whether an elaborate system of technical and industrial instruction should follow or precede the actual establishment of industries in India. According to some authorities, industrial schools cannot teach a trade which does not already exist in the country, and if a lad is instructed in a craft for which there is no opening, he will soon lapse into a cultivator, or whatever else his hereditary calling may be. Similarly in the higher stages of technical instruction it will be a great waste of time and money to train a young man for a particular industry if at the end of his period of training he cannot readily find employment. When an industry has been firmly established in the country with the aid of imported labour in the highest grades, the demand for local training for these ranks and for previous training in the lower ranks will be legitimate, and can be met by the foundation of required institutions. On the other hand, it is argued that imported labour is expensive and uncertain. The initial difficulties in establishing a pioneer industry in India are already very great. Native capitalists in particular are frequently deterred from undertaking otherwise promising forms of business by the consideration that it is impossible for them to get entirely reliable technical experts, especially when there is no certainty of replacing imported men by local talent even ten or fifteen years later. If technical institutions turn out capable men, they should not have much difficulty in securing capitalists to finance them. It seems to me that there is a great deal of force in both views, and I submit that the only proper method of development would be the establishment of technical colleges and industrial schools *simultaneously* with the actual starting of pioneer factories. It is true that in advanced occidental countries systematic instruction has followed the establishment of an industry, but we must not lose sight of the fact that at the present day all European countries possess thoroughly equipped technical institutions, and it will be sheer folly to enter into

an industrial combat with them unless our arms and organization are equally efficient. If all skilled labour has to be imported, the cost of production will be heavy, and will remain heavy for ever. A professor in an English University, who has given much thought to the question of industrial progress, observed to me some time ago that no country could possibly develop its industrial resources to an adequate extent if the bulk of the skilled labour has to be imported from other lands. It has been suggested that the difficulties can be overcome by sending Indian youths for industrial training to other countries. This course is now being pursued to an increasing extent. The State and some philanthropic bodies are assisting a number of young men, and many leave India relying entirely on their own resources. I have given some attention to the matter, and I do not think the present conditions are altogether satisfactory. Technical Universities in England or on the Continent have extensive workshops, but they do not pretend that the training in these workshops fits a young man for the actual work of life. English students generally obtain introductions to factories working on a commercial scale. They spend a considerable time in such factories during the college vacations, and also subsequent to the college training before seeking remunerative employment. Indian youths have, for obvious reasons, the greatest difficulty in securing such practical training. Moreover, the local conditions are so entirely different that an Indian student, unless he has had prolonged practical experience, is unable to adapt to Indian circumstances the knowledge gained in European colleges. Another defect I hope will be remedied, now that more attention is being paid in this country, as well as in India, to the requirements of Indian students in foreign lands. Young men often come from India with a vague aspiration for an industrial training without any idea of the particular industry they wish to learn, of the prospects of that industry in India and of their own fitness for any kind of industrial work. Under exist-

ing conditions the emigration of Indian students to the seats of technical instruction in other countries is necessary, but the system cannot be a permanent solution of our difficulties. At any rate, only a very small number of industrial students can afford to come to distant countries, and institutions in England or the Continent can find room for only a very limited number of such youths. The need for suitable provision in India itself is becoming urgent, but, as I have said before, the establishment of colleges only, however well equipped they may be, will only be a partial solution. The training will not be complete unless the students can learn practical work in actual factories.

We must have a parallel development. Private enterprise and capital should undertake the pioneering of promising industries, while technical instruction to meet the requirements of these nascent industries should be the province of the State. Co-operation between the State and the captains of Indian industry is essential for the success of such a development. The deliberations of the official and non-official conferences, to which reference has been made earlier in the paper, have been full of promise in this respect, and I have every hope that, when the well-considered schemes of the Local Governments actually take shape, the leaders of the more intelligent and thoughtful sections of the Indian public will render all loyal assistance to insure the success of the State measures.

The next question that suggests itself is where the capital is to come from for the establishment of industries in India. Capital is proverbially shy in India ; besides, its organization is antiquated and out of date. The landed classes have only in a comparatively few cases much ready money, and it is desirable that their capital should be sunk as far as possible in their own domains ; the land in India is capable of absorbing large sums toward innumerable agricultural improvements. The moneylending classes have so far lent mostly on the security of land or other real property, except in cases where they have financed trade as distin-

guished from industry. A middle class is, however, now growing up in towns and large villages, consisting, as I have already said, of public servants, tradesmen, and members of the learned professions. This middle class is saving money, and is capable of exercising greater thrift if the prospects of a suitable return were better than they are now. The funded securities of the State and the large joint-stock banks afford absolute safety, but the interest derived from these sources is comparatively small. On the other hand, ordinary moneylending, or the financing of tradesmen, yields a handsome return, but the business is more or less of a speculation. What is wanted is something between the two extremes. The system of district banks which has been inaugurated in Northern India under the impulse of the co-operative movement, seems to offer a practical solution of the problem. These banks are not too large to get in touch with the smallest depositor, while, if well managed, they should be able to discriminate between sound and unsound industrial schemes and to finance promising undertakings at a reasonable rate of interest. After all, factory buildings, machinery, and raw materials, though liable to depreciation, are less speculative security than the goodwill of a trading firm. As Mr. Cumming has pointed out in his report on the industries of Bengal, one looks for progress in the immediate future to the efforts of small capitalists and small syndicates. In the pioneering of new industries a small syndicate has many advantages over a joint-stock company with a large body of shareholders, and also over a single-handed capitalist. A syndicate of capable business men who invest a fair amount of their own capital in a new industry is not likely to experience much difficulty in obtaining loans on moderate terms from the banks. Not only is the number of small district banks increasing every year, and so far as can be judged from a short experience these banks are in most cases prudently and successfully managed, but all over India a number of large banks has been established within recent years with the osten-

sible object of furthering industrial enterprise. These larger banks are supported by well-known names in mercantile and financial circles in the country, and they have secured the services of experienced and competent English managers. The signs are therefore full of promise. Once in any industry the pioneer factories are successful in surmounting the initial difficulties, one has no hesitation in predicting many fresh ventures in the same line. Then will come the turn of true joint-stock enterprise. The growth of the cotton spinning and weaving factories of Bombay and Ahmedabad furnishes a sufficient illustration.

I have already submitted that the State should undertake technical and industrial instruction in all stages. It is not possible here to enter into any details regarding the requirements, because they vary from province to province, and have already formed the subject of careful deliberation in India. It is necessary, however, to mention that attention must be given not only to what may be strictly called technical instruction, but an improvement should be aimed at in all stages of general instruction. The education of the eye and the hand should be as much an object as the education of the brain. Mr. Spring in his paper insisted on this feature of the problem when he advocated a three-dimensional education instead of one of two dimensions. The point was recognized at the Naini Tal Industrial Conference, and the Government of the United Provinces has already taken measures, in accordance with its financial capacity, to introduce manual training in the lower forms of ordinary schools, and to give a practical and scientific bent to the instruction in the middle and higher forms.

It is also submitted that in India the function of the State in the industrial development of the country cannot be limited to the mere provision of technical and industrial instruction. It is ordinarily true that private enterprise and capital must come forward to establish industries, but State aid and encouragement are necessary in this direction also. I am quoting the opinion of the Honourable Mr.

Cumming. "It is not the fault of many would-be industrialists, but of their traditions and environment, that they lack initiative, co-operation of capital, business capacity, and organization. The feature of the present position is that it is not the Indian commercial classes who wish to engage in industrial enterprise—commerce pays them better; but it is principally classes in whom the commercial instinct is not fully developed, and who are finding that the pressure for existence in literary lines is too great." The suggestion has therefore been made in most provinces in India for the appointment of a Director of Industries, whose advice should be available to the Government on the one hand, in regulating its system of technical instruction, and to the public on the other hand regarding the best and safest methods of industrial enterprise. Such an officer must not only be an expert with a wide knowledge of technical processes and developments in advanced industrial countries, but should possess or acquire an intimate appreciation of local conditions in India. In Madras the Government has been fortunate enough in finding already in its service a Director of Industries with all necessary qualifications. It may be difficult to secure suitable men for the other provinces, but the want is keenly felt by all classes interested in industrial growth, and I venture to think that if sufficiently attractive emoluments are offered we shall get men who will fit themselves for their duties within a reasonable period.

The question has been raised whether the State in India should not go even farther, and actually pioneer industries which in its opinion are likely to benefit the country, but which private enterprise is unwilling to take up owing to peculiar initial difficulties. The problem is an exceedingly complex one, and will take more time than I can devote here for an adequate consideration. It may, however, be noted that modern economists of pronounced individualistic views have theoretically approved of State participation in the development of rural and agricultural industries. The

principles of the new Development Bill in this country have not encountered as much criticism as the methods and machinery proposed by the Government. Orthodox economists from the time of John Stuart Mill have admitted the soundness of State aid for nascent industries. In India we have no protective duties, and it is difficult to devise any system of protection which will be equally efficacious against all outside competition. Consequently the State aid to nascent industries must assume forms other than the imposition of Customs duties; the pioneering of an industry, on the distinct understanding that the business will be transferred into private hands as soon as its productivity has been established, is likely to be less mischievous than many other forms of State aid that can be imagined. Moreover, the Government in India has already, almost unconsciously, but with conspicuous success, pioneered some industries—*e.g.*, dairies in North India and aluminium manufacture in Madras. No untoward results have followed such undertakings. The question should, in my humble opinion, be left to the discretion of the Local Governments, which may be safely trusted not to enter upon any project without a most careful consideration of all the circumstances.

In some special cases, I think it will be readily conceded that it is the duty of the State to undertake industrial enterprise. For instance, the vast forests of India are the property of the Government, and it is exceedingly desirable for many reasons that they should be carefully conserved by the State. Consistently with this policy every effort should be made to make State afforestation a commercial success. At present no adequate use is made of many forest products. Thus the soft woods, like spruce and silver fir and the bamboos of Indian forests, will probably yield very valuable pulp, which is the raw material for paper manufacture. Owing to the situation of the forests, the establishment of private factories for pulp manufacture is beset with special difficulties. I would submit that if expert opinion pronounces favourably on the commercial

prospects of the pulp industry, and if private enterprise is not forthcoming, the State should have no hesitation in organizing and conducting a factory under its own control.

I now come to the last point to which I should like to invite your attention. The stumbling-block in the way of all educational reform in India, including the introduction of a liberal and modern system of technical and industrial instruction, is the want of money. After many lean years, when all spending departments were more or less starved, we had some prosperous seasons, and comparatively large grants were made towards education, mainly primary education. The results, as will be apparent from a perusal of the many official publications on the subject, were phenomenal. It was evident that the masses of the people eagerly availed themselves of the new facilities. In most places they clamoured, and are clamouring, for more opportunities. The prosperous years have again been followed by a period of financial shrinkage. Instead of the expanding needs of education being met by further expenditure, the purse-strings have had to be tightened. The result is likely to be a permanent set-back to the cause of education pursued along right lines. In Egypt, during the many years of financial stringency, Lord Cromer followed the policy of easing the burden of taxation on the people rather than spending large sums on eminently desirable objects like administrative or educational reform. I do not think the condition of India can be compared in this respect with that of Egypt. Taxation in India is not heavy as compared with taxation in all civilized countries of the world. The need for a larger expenditure in education is admitted by all classes. In the circumstances I think the State will be justified, if funds cannot be provided in any other way, in imposing fresh taxation to meet the increased expenditure. It is not necessary here to discuss whether such taxation, specially earmarked for educational purposes, should be imperial or local. The leaders of all

sections of the Indian public are unanimously of opinion that the educational needs of the country demand large additional expenditure. In the reformed councils the representatives of the public will have a splendid opportunity of discharging their duty to the country, and I trust they will cordially co-operate with the Government in finding money for the most pressing and imperative requirement of the land at the present day.

LANCASHIRE AND THE INDIAN COTTON TRADE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

FOR the sixth time since my retirement from the Indian Service, I have just spent the whole of a winter among my old friends in India. During that visit I had ample opportunity of discussing the political and commercial situation with large numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects of the educated classes—gentlemen sincerely and loyally interested in the success of the enlarged Legislative Councils and the other serious efforts made by Lord Minto's Government to bring Indians more generally into association with the work of the administration. Naturally, among men of such keen intellect, there is variety of political opinion quite as strongly marked as among the same number of Englishmen. Among the nobles and magnates, the great zemindars and the big lawyers, you are reminded of Lord Lansdowne or Lord Halsbury; while among the lesser lawyers and the like you occasionally find Lloyd-Georges and Winston Churchills.

But there is one subject upon which they all are in absolute agreement, and that is, that India must have more consideration shown to her nascent industries than is possible under a Cobdenite fiscal system of falsely-called Free Trade. They point to the enormous growth, month by month, of the patriotic movement known as *Swadeshi*—distinguished by voluntary vows to buy, as far as possible, only Indian-made goods—as a proof that, if the Government refuses to give them some Protection against the foreigner, the people, by their own voluntarily-adopted habits, will insure that Protection. And it is obvious that *Swadeshi*, by its very nature, will harm British trade just as much as foreign trade; for the ordinary purchaser, even if he wishes to do so, cannot distinguish any further than roughly between home-made articles and imported ones. Being

orderly, law-abiding citizens, [they all, except, perhaps, a few Lloyd-Georges, disapprove of what is in India called "boycott," to distinguish it from *Swadeshi*—for "boycott" is the forcibly preventing native dealers from selling imported goods, and is, of course, a criminal offence. But *Swadeshi* is an orderly, law-abiding proceeding, sometimes involving a certain amount of self-sacrifice, and having a patriotic motive with which, I think, it is impossible not to sympathize. And for this very reason *Swadeshi*, now that it is becoming practically universal throughout India, offers the gravest possible menace to our Lancashire trade with India, and must speedily ruin it if we persist in our foolish fetish-worship of so-called "Free Trade."

And yet I firmly believe that *Swadeshi* might be turned into an Imperial *Swadeshi*, and become a buttress, not only to Indian industry, but also to British and Imperial industry, if only we were to show that consideration for the feelings and the interests of our Indian fellow-subjects that is their due—if only Britain were to offer India a *quid pro quo* for the free or preferential admission of British manufactures into India by giving free or preferential admission of Indian goods into the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by abolishing the hateful inquisitorial Excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills, and by sanctioning Indian Protection against the dumping Japanese, Germans, and other foreigners.

For just consider how Free Traders treat India in these matters. When, last year, Sir Charles Elliott wrote a wise and statesman-like letter to the *Spectator*, arguing that, as all Indians are admittedly Protectionists, we ought to meet India halfway by a give-and-take system of Imperial Preference, Mr. W. Tattersall of Manchester, who is the leader and organizer of the Lancashire Cobdenites, wrote to the *Spectator* in these haughty and domineering words:

"Just so; but while India is our Dependency she will continue to be governed by our traditional policy of Free Trade."

These words appeared over Mr. Tattersall's signature in the *Spectator* of January 4, 1908. This is how the Liberal Party treats a great sister State of the Empire merely because educated Indians—like all the rest of the world, except the foolish bigots of the Cobden Club—think that Protection is needed for young and struggling industries! Can anything be more odious or more exasperating than this hectoring tone? And Mr. Tattersall went on to "rub it in," as the Lancashire Radicals say of Mr. Churchill's vulgar rant. Gloating over the Indian Protectionists, who are much more learned economists than himself, he said :

"During Mr. Churchill's contest in this city [Manchester] I ventured to warn Lancashire that if the principles of the Tariff Reform League were adopted, nothing could prevent the Bombay cotton industry from being protected at the expense of our own staple trade."

Now, as Mr. Tattersall writes this stuff to the *Spectator*—and he has since repeated it in letters to the *Times*—I accept it, of course, as what he honestly believes. His opinion is, then, that Indians would prefer the maintenance of the present fiscal system of *quasi* Free Trade—with its equal taxation on foreign goods, British goods, and Indian products—rather than have Imperial Preference, with its equal freedom for British goods and for Indian products, and its taxation of competing foreign goods. And not only that they would prefer the maintenance of the existing system, but that, if the modified Protection of Imperial Preference were given them, they would be so indignant that they would cry out—even louder than they do now—for the "Bombay cotton industry being protected" at the expense of Lancashire. And because we could no longer comfort them with the Cobdenite assurance that they are blessed with Free Trade—at which they have always jeered—the Viceroy would be compelled, by this popular outcry, to insist on the House of Commons granting them

Protection against Lancashire as well as against the foreigner! To anyone who is familiar with India, and with the general good sense and knowledge of the Indian educated classes, or who knows anything of the British House of Commons, this view seems so grotesque and absurd that it is difficult to imagine any intelligent person putting it forward. But I imagine Mr. Tattersall knows very little about India.

As a matter of fact, all the Indian and Anglo-Indian readers of this *Review* know perfectly well that, at this moment, the demand of the Indian peoples for absolute Protection is so strong and fierce that it could not possibly be stronger under Imperial Preference; and why should it be, seeing that Preference would give something, though not all, of what is demanded?

The *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly—one of the ablest and most influential of the purely Indian journals—which is edited by that well-known publicist, Mr. Raja Ram Rao, thus dealt with the above-quoted letter of Mr. Tattersall's in its issue of May 13, 1908:

“The British policy is stated with engaging frankness by Mr. William Tattersall, that ‘while India is our Dependency, she will continue to be governed by our traditional policy of Free Trade,’ which is only an euphemistic way of stating, as pointed out by Sir Pherozechah Mehta on the occasion of the imposition of Excise duties, ‘that the infant industries should be strangled in their birth if there is the remotest suspicion of their competing with English manufactures.’ It is a most one-sided, cruel, and mischievous policy which, in the name of Free Trade, Great Britain has been pursuing in India.”

In the same article the able editor frankly admits that he would prefer to have absolute Protection; but he very wisely adds that, as that is impossible, he would prefer Imperial Preference to the one-sided system that is known

as Free Trade. These are the words with which he concludes his article :

“ The Excise duties are a cruel wrong imposed by senselessness and folly, as they cripple the only staple manufacturing industry of India. It is needless to state here that India is intensely Protectionist, a fact known to Sir Henry Fowler, Mr. John Morley, and every other statesman who has had anything to do with her, and what she requires is neither Free Trade nor Imperial Preference, but complete autonomy to regulate her own fiscal policy. India would retain the import duties on British cotton goods while abolishing the Excise ; but between the present policy and the removal of both the duties, THE CHOICE WOULD FALL ON THE LATTER, which is the lesser of the two evils.”

That was written in May of last year. And since then scores and hundreds of articles have appeared, practically to the same effect, in every daily, weekly, and monthly periodical of the Indian Press that is conducted by Nationalist, or, indeed, by Indian-born, writers.

I will only add, in this place, one more quotation from the Trichinopoly *Wednesday Review* of October 13, 1909, received since I wrote the above :

“ Free Trade has killed most of our nascent industries. No doubt Free Trade has done much to India by ‘dumping’ cheap commodities ; but, as Mr. O’Conor pointed out once, there is not a single import which we could not do away with if we had a 10 per cent. import duty on manufactured commodities. . . . The consequence, however, of this short-sighted policy is that the Protected communities of the West are slowly pushing forward their trade at the expense of both the English and the Indian producers. . . . That the interest of India lies in producing whatever she could produce herself, whatever interests may be affected

thereby, is certain. And we should not be surprised if the first thing the Reformed Councils do is to besiege the Government with powerful cries for a 10 per cent. import duty on ALL manufactured goods."

Ah, there's the rub! Here we have a fair and honourable warning to the belated "Free Traders" of Lancashire, drugged by the obsolete bigotry of fanatics of the Cobdenite school, as to the inevitable result of Lord Morley's reforms, which have given a voice to popular opinion in the very Legislatures of India—unless we can come to some more reasonable agreement with that popular opinion than is offered by "Free Trade."

Even Sir Henry Cotton, M.P.—the Radical member for Nottingham, who is all for "Free Trade" in Nottingham, but is all for Protection of India, even against England, when he is presiding over the National Congress in India—has given the same warning. For at Oxford, on November 22, 1907, he stated, as a leading representative of the National Congress in England, of the *Swadeshi* movement: "I have no doubt whatever that the people of India are in earnest in this movement. . . . There is more in the agitation than the Manchester merchants are willing to admit."

Now, if there be any truth whatever in these warnings—and most of the readers of this *Review* know them to be perfectly true—surely the obvious thing for Lancashire, and for the manufacturing interest of the United Kingdom, to do is to accept proposals for an amicable arrangement between the interests of England and India before the Reformed Councils of India are committed to this hostile line herein foreshadowed. It is no question of generosity; it is simply a question of fairness and mutual self-interest.

The Liberal Party has always made loud professions—and never louder than at this moment—that peoples should be governed in accordance with their own wishes. How, then, can it be possible, how can it be even decent, for any

Liberal—let alone such professed Indophils as Sir Charles Schwann, Mr. Byles, and the Parliamentary body they represent—to insist on the maintenance of the Excise duties on Indian cotton goods, which are detested by every living soul in the country, European as well as Indian? It is a positive fact, well known to all Indians and Anglo-Indians, that Liberal members of Parliament like Sir Henry Cotton of Nottingham, Mr. Byles of Salford, and Sir C. Schwann of Manchester—though they loudly profess to be Free Traders here in Lancashire—would never dare to stand up in Calcutta or Bombay and confess that they voted for the continuance of those Indian Excise duties. If that were clearly understood in India—if it were clearly known that the so-called “Indian Parliamentary Party,” because of their “Free Trade” prejudices, favoured those Excise duties, they would soon cease to receive the support they have had from India. How can the Liberal Party—now that India has got a large instalment of self-government—insist on preventing her from defending her nascent industries from what the Gaekwar of Baroda rightly terms “alien industrial inroads,” the dumping of artificially cheapened hosiery of Japan and Germany, of artificially cheapened matches from Japan and Sweden, of boots from Austria and America, and so forth? Bombay, aided by Leicester and Nottingham, could produce all the hosiery. Cawnpore, aided by Northampton, could produce all the boots. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, aided by Bryant and May, could produce all the matches. But neither “Free Trade” England nor “Free Trade” India can compete with the protected and subsidized commodities of Japan and other Protectionist countries. Why should the Liberal Party force this disability on a whole people unanimously opposed to it? The result of their action has been that during the last decade, while the import of cotton goods into India from Lancashire has (with certain fluctuations) done little more than hold its own, while the production of Indian cotton-mills has only approximately

doubled itself, the imports from Japan, Germany, and other protected foreign countries have been multiplied fourfold!

But if the Liberal Government wrong India by this oppressive treatment, they commit a still greater wrong against Lancashire and Scotland by persisting in maintaining the Indian import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their cotton goods; for the Liberal Party was pledged up to the hilt by Sir Henry Fowler (now Lord Wolverhampton), the Secretary of State for India in 1894-1895, when these duties were imposed, that the duties should be taken off when the finances of India permitted it. On February 21, 1895, when Sir Henry James (now Lord James of Hereford), then Member for Bury, moved the adjournment of the House in order to censure the Liberal Government for imposing the Indian import duties on Lancashire cotton goods, Sir Henry Fowler gave the statistics as to the fall in the exchange value of the rupee, and its crippling effect on the finances of India; and he said, with solemn significance: "If these duties were abolished in the past, it was because financial conditions admitted it, and they are imposed now because financial reasons require them."

I think it is only fair to Lord Wolverhampton to point out that it is not his fault, personally, that the solemn pledge to Lancashire involved in these words has been broken by Mr. Asquith's Government; for in the *Spectator* of January 11 of last year—when the difficulties of the rupee exchange had obviously come to an end, and when (as I shall show presently) the finances of India were consequently, and had been for some years, in a flourishing state that might be envied by any country in the world—a letter appeared, signed by Sir Henry Fowler, which aroused the highest expectations both in Lancashire and in India. That letter, though as yet the Liberal Party have neglected to act upon it, remains on record as the charter of the cotton industry. In it Lord Wolverhampton quotes significantly the wording of the resolution of the House of

Commons, passed at the instance of the Lancashire and Scottish members for the cotton-manufacturing districts in 1877, in regard to the similar duties that were subsequently abolished by Lord Lytton and Lord Cromer. The House resolved that those duties "are protective in their character, and ought to be repealed without delay as soon as the financial condition of India will permit." Lord Wolverhampton also refers to the strong condemnation passed on these duties by the late Lord Salisbury; and to the fact that Lord George Hamilton, on December 22, 1895, declared that Lord Salisbury's opinion was that such duties are "a matter of dangerous contention, and it was only under conditions of emergency or exigency that recourse in any way ought to be had to such a policy." He further refers to the motion censuring these duties that was moved in 1895 by Lord James of Hereford, and seconded by Lord Weardale, then Mr. P. Stanhope; and the Liberal ex-Secretary for India solemnly declares that the Indian import duties on cotton had only been imposed because of "the financial embarrassments owing mainly to the fall in the value of the rupee." And he further asserts, what is well known to be the fact, that the shamefully extortionate and inquisitorial Excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills were imposed, under the orders of the Liberal Government, of which he was a member, not for the value of the revenue obtained from them—which is comparatively trifling, something under 35 lakhs per annum—but simply to countervail the foreign import duties.

Now, we all know that these "financial embarrassments owing mainly to the fall in the value of the rupee"—which Lord Wolverhampton declares to have been the only justification of taxes grossly injurious both to Indian consumers and to Lancashire and Indian producers—have long since disappeared. For nine years in succession the Indian Finance Minister has had huge surpluses to declare, and though there has been a slight set-back this year and last, the Government definitely assures us that this is only

due to temporary causes that have passed or are passing away.

And let it not be forgotten that a very substantial portion of these huge surpluses in each year—sometimes nearly half—was derived from the very taxation, paid by Lancashire cotton goods, that was imposed by Sir Henry Fowler and Lord Elgin to provide against expected deficits!

These surpluses of Indian revenue over expenditure are given in the returns as follows :

			£
1898—1899	...	...	2,640,873
1899—1900	...	...	2,774,623
1900—1901	...	...	1,670,204
1901—1902	...	...	4,950,243
1902—1903	...	...	3,069,549
1903—1904	...	...	2,996,400
1904—1905	...	...	3,485,500
1905—1906	...	...	2,091,854
1906—1907	...	...	1,589,340

It will be seen that these surpluses were at the rate of over £2,800,000 per annum.

If it were necessary to show by any further facts and figures how entirely Lord Wolverhampton was justified in declaring, in his letter of last year, that the time had come for the Liberal Party to redeem its pledges to the cotton industry, that proof is amply furnished by the words of the Master of Elibank the other day, when, on August 5, 1909, he made his annual Budget statement. He said :

“Before dealing with the financial results of 1908-1909 and the Budget for the coming year, it may be well to refer briefly to the financial position of India during the preceding decade from 1898-1899 to 1907-1908. I do this in order to remind the House that in each of the first nine years of that period the surplus of the year was substantial, and exceeded in some years by a very large amount the figure anticipated in the Budget—as, for instance, in 1901-1902 we

budgeted for a surplus of £690,000, and had an actual surplus of £4,950,000, and again, in 1906-1907, we had an actual surplus over our Budget estimate of £1,125,000. These surpluses, let me explain, were not due to any increase in taxation, nor to the restriction of administrative expenditure; on the contrary, as my predecessor stated in his speech last year, the period was one of very liberal reduction in taxation. In it the salt-tax and the income-tax were reduced, and important cesses on land were abolished, at the annual cost of about £4,200,000, and at the same time large additions were made to the annual expenditure on education, medical and sanitary services, and civil works, such as buildings, roads, and agricultural developments and research. The combination of lower taxation and higher expenditure was rendered possible by the fact that during the period in question Indian commerce prospered, in spite of the occurrence of a serious famine in 1900—in fact, the total sea-borne trade increased from £120,500,000 in 1898-1899 to £206,750,000 in 1907-1908."

Is it possible to conceive of any financial situation that could more thoroughly justify Lord Wolverhampton's contention that the time had come to redeem the pledges of the Liberal Party to Lancashire, and to the Indian cotton manufacturers?

Why was this contention ignored by the Liberal Government? I think that Mr. W. Tattersall, the chief organizer of the Cobdenites of Lancashire, has partially let the cat out of the bag—but, of course, only partially. He wrote to the *Times* to apologize for the fact, on the ground that his organization had proposed to the Bombay mill-owners that both import duties and Excise duties should be abolished, but that the latter had shown no disposition to fall in with the suggestion. Yes, but Mr. Tattersall omitted to point out to the casual reader of his apology that his proposal

involved the abolition of the import duties on the imports of the protected and subsidized Japanese, German, and other foreign importers as well as those on Lancashire goods and the Excise duties on Indian products. Such a proposal involved, therefore, two most objectionable points. *First*, it would deprive the Indian revenues of a very considerable annual sum, without offering any substantial *quid pro quo*, such as that afforded by the taxation not only of foreign cotton goods—which in itself might not at first be large—but also of other foreign manufactured goods, and also by the preferential admission of Indian manufactured and other goods to British and Colonial markets. And, *secondly*, it involved the concession by India of fresh facilities for the dumping of those foreign protected and subsidized goods—dumping that has already caused the closing of the hosiery department of the great Bomanji Petit mills, and threatens to do far greater damage in the near future. Mr. Tattersall's offer was most unfair and ill-judged.

But if Mr. Tattersall, the Lancashire Free Trader, was unfair to India, and unmindful of our Imperial duty to safeguard Indian interests, the Master of Elibank, who is now the Radical Free-Trade Under-Secretary of State for India, is even more unfair. This is how the Master of Elibank, speaking in Midlothian on December 13, 1909, defends the Indian Excise duties:

“He said India was essentially a Free Trade country, admitting all goods on equal terms, and even penalizing her home industries by the imposition of Excise duties on cotton, REALLY FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF LANCASHIRE.”

Now, I maintain that this is a defence altogether unworthy of Lancashire, and one that, I think, Lancashire would repudiate.

Then, again, the small band of Anglo-Indian Free-Traders—they only number a few dozens, and there is not a single Indian Free-Trader in all India—are equally

unfair to Lancashire. This is the resolution that was moved by Mr. McRobert, the eminent Free-Trader who represented the Chamber of Commerce of Upper India at the annual meeting at Sydney, in Australia, this year, of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Empire :

“Whereas the duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* on cotton goods imported into India is in no sense protective, and is levied solely for revenue purposes ; and whereas the class of cotton-goods manufactured by Indian weaving mills does not compete in any material degree with imported fabrics, this Congress is of opinion that the Excise duty imposed on cotton cloth produced by Indian power looms is inequitable and should be repealed.”

As the vast majority of the Delegates at the Sydney Congress were Tariff Reformers, it is hardly necessary to say that this resolution was defeated. But if it had been carried, and acted upon, I maintain that the result to Lancashire would have been most disastrous.

One further justification of Lord Wolverhampton's contention may be gathered from Sir Edward Baker's speech as Indian Finance Minister in March, 1907. Sir Henry Cotton and his friends in the House of Commons had been very persistent in urging on the Liberal Government that it should do away with the Indian opium monopoly, and thereby hand over to the Chinese the five crores of Indian revenue now derived from that source. In the House of Commons, Lord Morley had very wittily replied to Mr. Lupton on this subject, that to do so would be to “satisfy British righteousness at the cost of Indian revenue.” But however this might be, it was ultimately decided that this heroic course should be pursued. Orders were accordingly sent out to India to that effect, and Sir Edward Baker had to consider how the loss of five crores of Indian opium revenue could be made good. Sir Edward had much to say—it is all commented on in the article on “The Opium Monopoly” in

Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy"—about the very serious blow the abolition would inflict on large classes of producers in Upper India and in the Feudatory States. But he declared that, so far as the loss of five crores of Indian revenue was concerned, it could be met without increase of taxation. And that certainly is in accordance with the Master of Elibank's financial statement of last August.

Now, I am offering no opinion whatever as to the righteousness or otherwise of the opium monopoly, though it should be remembered that the late Maharaja of Darbhanga and all the Indian members of the Opium Commission had strongly protested against any proposal to abolish it. From Sir Cecil Clementi Smith's report on the statement of the Chinese delegates at the recent Shanghai Conference, there seems to be a good deal of doubt whether, after all, the Indian revenues may be called upon, under the terms of Lord Morley's orders, to sustain this huge loss. But however this may be, it seems to me that a candid consideration of Lord Wolverhampton's letter in the *Spectator*, and of all the circumstances in which the import duties on Lancashire cotton goods and the Excise duties on Indian cotton goods were imposed, must force any honest Liberal to admit that the Liberal Government, before performing the great act of vicarious liberality in offering to sacrifice the five crores of Indian opium revenue, was bound in honour first to fulfil Lord Wolverhampton's promises to the Lancashire and Indian cotton industries by the remission of the cotton duties.

In any circumstances, I am not one of those who would advocate the sacrifice of one rupee of Indian revenue for the sake either of gratifying British philanthropy or of aiding British industry—unless it can be shown that the sacrifice will be far more than recouped by the benefits accruing to Indian interests. But that condition is amply satisfied in the demand for the remission of the import

duties on British and Colonial manufactures, and of the Excise duties on Indian products, with the retention of the import duties on foreign goods—that is, on goods manufactured outside the British Empire—and with the concession to India of full rights of Preferential trading in all the parts of the United Kingdom and of the Empire. The abolition of the odious Excise duties, and the Imperial Preference conceded to Indian commodities—manufactured goods as well as food and raw materials—throughout the Empire, will give the peoples of India cheaper clothing abundant employment, and a fair field for all their nascent industries. And for Lancashire and for the United Kingdom generally the establishment of such a system is the only way of amicably meeting the imminent dangers of *Swadeshi*—and it is obvious that those dangers can only be met by an amicable arrangement—while it will afford a mighty and much-needed stimulus to all the great industries of the country, and especially to the cotton industry of Lancashire and Scotland.

I will conclude this paper by giving a brief summary, under four simple and easily differentiated headings, of what, I venture to submit to the readers of this *Review*—and through them to the men of Lancashire, of Scotland, of the manufacturing districts at large, and of India—are the benefits, undeniable and far-reaching, that will accrue to all alike by the immediate adoption of a fiscal policy of Imperial Preference. And I append, under each of those four headings, one or two simple questions, which I venture to ask each reader to put to himself and to answer. I say, then—

1. Imperial Preference proposes to abolish, so far as revenue considerations will permit, the existing import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that is levied in Indian ports on all Lancashire cotton goods. Will that injure Lancashire trade, or will it benefit it? Will it injure the Indian consumers, who will get their clothing cheaper, or will it benefit

them? Will it increase Indian consumption, or will it diminish it?

2. Imperial Preference proposes, *pari passu* with the abolition or mitigation of these import duties on Lancashire cotton goods, to abolish or mitigate the countervailing Excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. now levied on the competing products of Indian cotton mills. This is only fair, and will still maintain the equality of treatment of English and Indian goods. As this Excise duty, which is not levied in any Colony, nor in any other country in the world, is hated by the Indians, its abolition will do much to soothe that Indian jealousy which now finds vent in *Swadeshi* vows (to use no imported goods) among the "moderate" Indians, and in violent "boycotting" (the coercion of native traders to prevent their selling Lancashire goods) among the "Extremists." Will this abolition or mitigation, this pacifying measure of equity, be likely to benefit or to injure Lancashire trade in India?

3. Imperial Preference proposes to retain (for revenue purposes, and to safeguard the Indian and Lancashire trade) the existing import duties on German, American, and other foreign goods produced outside the British Empire. We shall not tax the foreigners so heavily as they tax us, and they have no right to complain of any friendly domestic arrangements we may choose to make with our own fellow-subjects. Will these Indian taxes on the foreigners injure, or benefit, Lancashire trade with India, and Indian trade with the world?

4. Imperial Preference proposes, in return for India's abolition or reduction of her import duties on British manufactures, that England shall abolish or reduce her import duties on Indian tea, Indian tobacco, and so forth. Lancashire working-men will get their tea and their tobacco at half the present prices, for in each case the duty exceeds the initial cost of the commodity. Will this injure or benefit Lancashire? Will it injure or benefit the Indian producer?

THE SIMPLE ARITHMETICAL TRUTH ABOUT THE LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.*

THE simple arithmetical truth about the land revenue of India is that it amounts now to about £20,000,000 *gross*, or, at the present value of the rupee, Rs. 300,000,000, and that the area of land *actually cropped* in 1906-07 was over 214,000,000 acres, of which about 37,000,000 acres were permanently irrigated (mostly, no doubt, with at least two crops); so that the actual number of crops reaped was probably not much under 250,000,000, and the average assessment per acre of crop would be Rs. $\frac{300,000,000}{250,000,000} = \frac{6}{5}$, or a little over 19 pence—say rs. 8d.

This assessment ranges from Rs. 20 an acre, (or even more), over whole villages of permanent double-crop land in the more fortunate parts of the country (where, owing to excellent irrigation, absolute failure is unknown, and where consequently there is the greatest prosperity when other parts of India are in the grip of famine), down to 2, or even 1, anna an acre in the dry tracts, where the land is only occasionally cultivated, and hardly worth cultivating at all. This low average assessment is not, of course, a proof that no land is ever too highly assessed, but it *does* prove that the land revenue as a whole is not a very serious burden on the land; for even if the average gross produce could be estimated at no more than Rs. 15 an acre, (as suggested by the late Mr. Digby for fertile Bengal), the average assessment would be only $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; whilst it is clear that Rs. 15 would be scarcely enough to pay the cost of cultivating an acre of the better sort of land.

It may be added, for convenience of reference, that the land revenue per head of the population, (leaving out Burma,) varies from 4s. 7d. in Sind (where almost the whole cultivated area is irrigated) to 8d. in Eastern Bengal; or, omitting Zemindari tracts permanently settled, to rs. 11d.

* No. 8 Pamphlet of the East India Association.

These figures might be usefully compared with Mr. Keir Hardie's assertion, made at a public meeting at which Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton were present, and *not contradicted by either of them*—it is repeated in so many words on p. 2 of his little volume, "India," just published—that "over a great part of India" the Government "wrung from the peasants 75 per cent. of the yield of the land." This statement had special reference to the Central Provinces, where the average assessment is officially stated to be *from 8 to 9 annas an acre* (p. 18 of the "Moral and Industrial Progress Report" for 1907-8, dated 20. 5. 09.

It may also be useful to reproduce here a statement published in the "Reports of the Moral and Industrial Progress of India," showing the proportion which the land revenue has borne to the gross revenue of the country since 1842-43.

LAND REVENUE FROM 1842 TO 1907 (DECENNIALY).

1842-43	...	...	...	...	About 60·0 per cent.
1852-53	...	...	...	...	" 56·6 "
1862-63	...	...	...	...	" 43·4 "
1872-73	...	...	...	...	" 37·7 "
1882-83	...	...	...	...	" 31·0 "
1892-93	...	...	...	...	" 28·0 "
1902-03	...	...	...	...	" 30·0 "
1906-07	...	...	...	...	" 29·0 "

This statement shows that the proportion of revenue exacted from the land has steadily declined from 60 to 30 per cent., whilst at the same time the only other unavoidable tax, that on salt,* has been enormously decreased,

* The retail selling price of salt varies now from about Rs. 3 (in two districts only) to about Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a maund of $82\frac{2}{7}$ lbs., or from rather over $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. to rather more than $\frac{1}{4}$ d. In the Punjab, Madras and Bombay, (where it is usually cheapest), it averages less than Rs. 2 a maund, or not quite double the duty levied by the State. Before we had railways we used to calculate that the price was double for every hundred miles of transport; and as the Government duty was at one time Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ it may be imagined what the price was five or six hundred miles from the source of supply. It is not the weight of the tax that matters now, but only the monopoly itself. The very liberal allowance of a maund of salt for a family would cost now from Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. 3 a year, or from 2s. to 4s.—say, four to eight days labour, or, roughly, an income tax of from 1 to 2 per cent., (according to one's place of residence,) on gross earnings.

and brings in now far less than excise, which, whatever else may be said of it, is clearly a voluntary tax.

To compare figures prior to 1889 with those of that and subsequent years, the figures must be converted into tens of rupees; so that, taking quinquennial averages of the land revenue from 1861-65, including that due to irrigation in some parts of India, and sundry receipts usually credited to land revenue, we should have the following result:

						£
1861-65	...	...	...	...	...	13,287,000
1866-70	...	...	...	...	...	13,227,000
1871-75	...	...	...	...	...	13,977,000
1876-80	...	...	...	...	...	14,076,000
1881-85	...	...	...	...	...	14,748,000
1886-90	...	...	...	...	...	15,444,000
1891-95	...	...	...	...	...	16,522,000
1896-00	...	...	...	...	...	17,217,000
1901-06	...	...	...	...	...	18,754,000

During this period, (which practically covers the whole of the time during which the country has been under the direct rule of Great Britain,) the area under cultivation, and especially the irrigated area, has enormously increased, so that the actual increase in the revenue from land has been very gradual and extremely moderate. According to the latest return, dated 20 . 5 . 09, it has increased by 27 per cent. in the twenty-six years from 1882 to 1908. It was actually less in 1907-08 than in 1906-07.

“Who would imagine, after reading Mr. O'Donnell's denunciation of ‘rack-taxing’ in the Punjab, that the area actually cultivated increased from 19,313,636 acres in 1889-1900 to 25,065,266 acres in 1904-05, and that the incidence of taxation at the same time had actually fallen from R.1 5a. 8p. an acre in the earlier period to R.1 1a. 5p. at the latter? The enclosure to a paper recently published, entitled ‘Land Revenue Assessments in the Punjab since 1855,’ is a complete answer to Mr. O'Donnell's wild and reckless charges. It shows, in brief, that the incidence of taxation in 1855 was R.1 2a. 5p. that it steadily declined till 1899-1900, rose again to

R.1 2a. 10p. in 1894-95—coincidentally with the enormous decrease in the gold value of silver and a great increase in irrigation,—attained its very moderate maximum of Rs.1 5a. 8p. in 1899-1900, when the irrigated area was no less than 72 per cent. of the whole area cultivated, and in 1904-05 was actually 1 anna an acre less than in 1855, though the area irrigated had increased by millions of acres in the meantime" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1908, p. 69). These rates, are, of course, exclusive of water-rate, for which the ryot gets a very ample equivalent.

In conclusion, we may fairly quote the following recent tribute to the Irrigation Department, which has done so much for India, and will yet do so much more ("A Spirited Defence," from the *Indian Spectator*, April 10, 1909, p. 282) :

"We have seldom read an official reply to non-official criticism fuller and more completely overwhelming, at least on first reading, than the one which the Hon. Mr. Miller made at the last meeting of the Viceregal Council in regard to the Government's irrigation policy. The Hon. Member for the Central Provinces had alleged that more wonderful things are done in Egypt and America than in his own land, and he quoted Mr. Bryan in support of his criticism. This unkind cut drew forth a warm reply from the Hon. Member in charge of the irrigation portfolio as follows :

" " If the Hon. Member would only go and see for himself, if he would spend a week on one of the great canal systems of this country, and then, if he chooses, compare what has been done in Egypt and America, we should not have to listen to the remarks we have heard to-day. He thinks to support his case by quoting a great American orator, who made, if I recollect aright, a hurried rush across this country, a politician whose flow of eloquence has not secured him over much credit in his own country. If the Hon. Member wants an American opinion, why does he not

go for it to an American engineer? He would then very quickly learn that his own country, of whose efforts he talks so slightly, has led and still leads the world in the matter of State irrigation, and that the recognized pre-eminence of India in this respect might well be the subject of some patriotic pride. What share Indian officers have had in the development of irrigation in Egypt is well known, but it is not so well known to what an extent other countries look to India for advice and assistance. One of our officers went to Australia to assist that country; several have been required in South Africa; one is, or was, engaged in Spain; the Americans have unofficially utilized the advice of another; the Turkish Government has now engaged a famous Indo-Egyptian engineer to advise it about Mesopotamia; an American engineer is even now studying our system with a view to irrigation development in the Philippines; we have had inquiries or inquirers from Brazil, from Mexico, from Russia, and from Japan. Is it because irrigation has been shamefully neglected in India that all those countries are so anxious to get the benefit of our experience?"

The Editor continues as follows: "The Hon. Mr. Miller has given ample reasons why we should be proud of our engineers. We cannot stop there: we must be proud of our Government also. Why are our engineers spared for another country also? If we have an abundance of them, does the Government provide less funds to them (*sic*) than they can utilize? or is the full utilization of the allotted funds rendered impossible by other difficulties, such as the inadequacy of labour? Do other countries offer higher salaries to our engineers than we do? If so, why? The admission that 'Indian figures come out second-best' on a comparison with Egypt is somewhat damaging. But every mother must be proud of her own child, every husband of his own wife, and every country of its own

Government ; and in the circumstances set forth by the Hon. Member we may well be proud of a Government which has enabled her engineers to give a lead to the world. For some reason or other the engineers have not been able in the past to make use of the allotments made. Their case is not before the public. But the Hon. Mr. Miller gave the following figures to show that there was no niggardliness on the part of Government :

Years.	Provided Lakhs.			Spent Lakhs.		
1903-4	125	...	...	98
1904-5	160	...	...	86
1905-6	183	...	...	128
1906-7	191	...	...	173
1907-8	195	...	...	189
1908-9	212	...	...	212 (probable)

“ The Government has more than once stated that when a programme is about to be put into force, the whole allotment may not be utilized for reasons which impute no blame to self (*sic*). The surveys, the estimates, the scrutiny of higher authorities, the sanction by the Secretary of State—all these things take time, and we have ere now been assured that the expenditure on irrigation will be progressive. As regards protective works, the Hon. Member said that ‘ the time has come when the rate of expenditure must probably be increased.’ This, if we are not mistaken, amounts virtually to an admission that the Government has been more anxious to spend money on productive irrigation, which turns out to be a good investment, than on protective works, which the people in the less favoured tracts, particularly of this Presidency and the Central Provinces, want so badly. But the admission we have quoted augurs well, and, if we should be proud now of the engineers, we shall be prouder of the Government hereafter.”

September, 1909.

SOME RECENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN BURMA.*

BY E. J. COLSTON, I.C.S.

BEFORE coming to the subject of this paper it would be as well to give a retrospect, and compare the old with the new. It is scarcely more than twenty years since Upper Burma and the Shan States were annexed. Before that the coast strip and the slowly developing plains of the Delta were in charge of a Chief Commissioner, first at Moulmein, then, after the war of 1852, at Rangoon. It is just ten years since the Chief Commissioner was replaced by a Lieutenant-Governor, and it is not ten years since the subordination of the Courts to Calcutta ceased, and a Chief Court was instituted for the then newly-separated Province. During the first ten years since the annexation of Upper Burma, referred to throughout the Province simply as "the Annexation," progress was very slow. During the second ten years, which almost covers my own connection with the Province, progress and change in every direction—trade and industry, educational and social—has been unusually rapid.

Twenty years ago the few British officers in the Lower Province were men of great ability, picked from the best which India could give, who studied the country with care, and whose literary works will remain as a lasting monument to the genius of Englishmen for the study and government of other races. But their subordinates and the people of the Lower Province were still under the influence of the Kingdom of Burma, whose King sat at Mandalay; and the Lower Province was affected by the disintegration of the Upper Province, a disintegration in no way due to British endeavours, but purely caused by the fact, well known to the scientific historian, that where a weak

* A paper read at a meeting of the Burma Society, London.

kingdom borders on a strongly governed one, the weak kingdom falls rapidly to pieces. In both Independent Burma and on the British side there were many faithful and just officials, but the rapacity and the unguided and ill-taught administration of others cast a blight on the whole country. The proverb that the three things to be feared were fire, pestilence, and a Government official was everywhere current. Well-to-do people assumed the aspect of poverty and lived in small and ill-kept houses, burying their riches in the ground for fear that they should attract the eye of the unscrupulous collector of taxes. The officials kept state, and moved with the pomp and circumstance of gold umbrellas, elephants, horses and attendants, and exacted the subservience of the prostrate people of the villages they entered. Non-officials lived in a uniform outward seeming of poverty. Clothing, except for the officials and their following, was scanty—the same *longyi* probably passing through several generations, and feet and chest going bare. The villager grew, husked, and lived on his own rice, and made his own household necessities in the rudest way. Even so essential a thing as the wheel was a mere disc of wood, often imperfectly rounded. Roads did not exist, and a town was a mere cluster of villages.

This state of things had not died out in times within my recollection. Even now there are lawsuits still pending over the dug-up hoards of old men of the last generation. In my eight years of residence in Tharrawaddy I have seen before my eyes the change from the old to the new. I am not speaking merely of things which I know at second hand.

But there were even then compensations. The Buddhist order—the greatest, the noblest, and the oldest religious order in the world—was well established and well revered. All children were well taught in their schools, and, though their lord might ride the people down, his son sat by the villagers on the same bench in the school, and shared their lessons and punishments. There was no Aryan caste

division, such as we have in India, and in a modified form in Europe. At the census in 1891, five years after the Annexation, Mr. Eales was amazed to find that the newly-conquered Upper Province ranked third in literacy. The officials and nobles, though they might be crushing in their exactions and arbitrary in their desires, were free-handed and generous, and spent freely what they acquired in the provision of carved and gilded *zayats*, and in hospitality and profusion of entertainment, and in magnificent lighting, at the three or four great festivals of each year. The country was not thickly crowded, absolute want was unknown, and the people were kept in health and happiness by the equability of the climate, the daily necessity for bodily exertion, and the excellent moral training of their boyhood.

Now the causes of individual insecurity have disappeared. The whole country is under the exact rules and training of British administration. The Burmese civil and judicial officers are as just, as upright, as able, and as well-trained a body of men as exists in any country in the world. It is true that the old profusion of these officers has disappeared with the limitation of their incomes, which barely suffice now for their households and the education of their children—an expensive education, for many officials, realizing the advantages of the English system, strain every nerve to educate their sons in India and in England for the professions. It is true that here and there the disappearance of their profusion did fifteen years ago create much heart-burning among our pleasure-loving people, when in centre after centre throughout the country the gorgeous *zayats*, which had been the centre of old-time official entertainments, went up in flames, the work of undiscovered incendiaries, who were, as I have been informed, the young men who could not bear the sight of these constant reminders of the times which had been. But the old official profusion has been now replaced by private entertainments by pagoda societies, and societies of head-men of wards in towns, and by private individuals—enter-

tainments in which officials join without pride or ostentation in their private capacity—and any regret for the old state of things is rapidly passing away.

The whole condition of the country has changed as if under a magician's wand. The colossal Burmese trade in rice has led to the clearing of the old forests, and now paddy-plains stretch away from river and sea to the hills. The competition between English and Indian capital (represented by the Chetties) in the country has led to a larger proportion of the profits of industry remaining with the cultivator than would otherwise have been economically possible. The country has grown in wealth—not merely the wealth of merchant princes, but the wealth of all, down to the poorest labourer. New classes unheard of before have arisen. There are rich traders and brokers, mill-owners, whose big steam, rice, and saw mills are a feature of every town, and retired officials who have settled to live in comfort after their service—all these classes with sons at English and Indian schools and colleges—and after these there is a gradation of classes more and more engaging in trade, merchandise and manufacture.

Now, as to this change, it used to be said that the native of India would displace the Burman, and would develop the country. According to my experience, this is not, and never was, true. When taking over a country as big as France, in 1885, we had to bring in our agents of Western economic ways from among trained Indians, and these, clustering round the English settlements, have interfered with our perspective. It is Burmese who have developed the paddy-plains of the Delta and settled there, and in the few cases where natives of India have settled among the Burmans their children in the third generation, by inter-marriage with Burmese, become wholly Burman in dress and habits, and disappear as units outside the general population. The same is true of European settlers in the country, but the tendency in this case has been checked by the large number of Indian Eurasians who have come into

small employments in Burma, and who have brought the habit of rigid separation from the people of the country with them. In the towns the natives of India are conspicuous as merchants and money-lenders. But the same tendency to absorption exists in the town as in the country, and, coupling this with the fact that Burmese are slowly learning Western habits of business, even in towns there is no cause for alarm.

The Burman has risen to the occasion in the most extraordinary way with the increase of general wealth and of facilities for purchase of goods. There is one characteristic of almost all Indian races which has led to their rigorous treatment in South Africa, Australia, America, and Canada. It is this—in the words of an advocate for the native of India, writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After* in October, 1909 :

“The Oriental has not yet grasped the Western conception of personality by which a man’s *surroundings* are included in the sum total of himself, leading him as far as he can to readjust his environment to his own needs. In other words, the Western ideal of personal *comfort* has not yet penetrated the Eastern life, and until it does so no Indian, unless highly Anglicized, will pay much attention to his immediate surroundings.”

Now, the result of this failure on the part of the Indian is that, though he is hard-working and an enterprising colonist, he never raises his standard of comfort in proportion to his standard of profit. Thus, whether as labourer or merchant or petty trader, wherever he may be, he is, on the one hand, able to undercut the white man in his own grade and drive him out of employment, and, on the other hand, as the Indian standard remains below that of the white man, all Indians must more or less herd together, and the white man is confronted with a colony, which is to him squalid, distressing, and unreasoning, at his doors.

The writer I have quoted generalized too freely in making his maxim apply to all Orientals. It certainly does

not apply to the Burman. With increasing prosperity the Burmese, almost without exception, have increased their standard of comfort to the limit of their income. The new towns and villages are distinguished by well-built and comfortable houses of brick and timber. Furniture, bedsteads, tables, chairs, sideboards, looking-glasses, cutlery, and good hangings and carpets, are becoming more and more common. The houses are kept comparatively clean and neat, and I have lived in a Burman's house as comfortably as I have lived in my own. In clothing the same improvement is very marked. The young men of the present day get their coats cut at a tailor's. English shoe-wear is becoming practically universal. Young Burma almost invariably uses linen underwear nowadays, and generally has an openwork vest and shirt under his jacket, and he keeps his clothing clean and sweet. He wears a waterproof of good cut and a big Buffalo-Bill hat during the rains, and provides himself with a good bag or box for his impedimenta.

And in this rapid and startling plunge into Western comfort the Burman has kept his head, and has been guided by his excellent taste. In every adaptation from the West he has chosen so as to harmonize with his own wants and country, and has chosen successfully. It is often distressing to see the figure a young Bengali cuts in English shoes with no socks, or with baggy white ones, and in an English coat which matches neither his shirt nor his *dhوتي*, and with a large white umbrella. A Burmese schoolboy in his big brown hat and mackintosh, his Burmese coat over an English shirt, cut with a high collar to fit the coat, and his brown boots and stockings strapped up with suspenders showing under his red brown *longyi*, is in absolute harmony, and has a reassuring air of neatness, cleanliness, and health.

The rise in comfort is also shown by domestic services. There are now hundreds of professional Indian *dhobis* in the country, who work for Burmese only, and the demand for *dhobis* is so great that it is a most profitable occupation.

Indian watermen are employed by the better classes in towns—Indian sweepers, syces, and durwans are quite common in the employ of the Burmese. The rice-fields of the Delta are cultivated by gangs of Madrassi coolies, let out by their overseer to the Burmese owner. Now, here Burma is in exactly the position of South Africa, Australia, and America in relation to the Indian. These services are not rejected by the Burman because he has any prejudice against them. But while even the lowest Burmese coolie has increased his standard of comfort in some way—generally by getting as good clothes for festivals as his employer—the Indian does not change, and so undercuts the Burman in all these matters. No stress has so far been occasioned in Burma by this condition of things, as the increase of trade and prosperity has been so great as to find a place so far for every Burman. But it may happen in the future that something will have to be done in Burma to limit the influx of Indian menials in order that the slowly forming class of landless Burmans—at present absorbed by public services—may find a place in their own country. And it is important to emphasize the difference between India and Burma in this respect, for the following reasons:

1. The possible need in the future of a limitation of Indian immigration.

2. Because the Burman, if he ever does emigrate to other countries, has not the peculiarities which have led to the imposition of disabilities upon the Indian immigrant.

3. Because there is a complaint among many older residents of the country, who insensibly compare the Burman with the Indian (defective in this respect), that the Burman is too extravagant and costly.

4. One has to consider that with this rise in the standard of comfort prices have arisen, and that scales of wages chosen under India for Government officials are, and will tend to be, more and more inadequate as time proceeds.

A further change is the vast growth in lay education. Under the old system of monastic education it was seen that the country reached, on the whole, a high standard. And this old habit of education has led Burmese to turn their thoughts in an educational direction whenever any public charity has been provided. I have spoken of the Quarter Clubs or Pagoda Societies in towns which provide entertainments. There is scarcely a Quarter Club which provides itself with a permanent building which does not add a free school for the poorest boys in the quarter. Lay teachers who have passed the Government Teachers' Examinations provide the next class of lay schools—private ones. Then there are municipal and other Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools—in many cases started by local effort only, and not on Government suggestion. In fact, the difficulty the Educational Department has with this class of schools is not to encourage their formation, but to restrain their undue multiplication. Above these are the Anglo-Vernacular High Schools. In Rangoon alone there are some 6,000 High-School students, and there are some six or seven other High Schools at important centres throughout the country. The number of young men in schools throughout the country is therefore a very important item in the changed condition and in the social problem, particularly when it is considered that every Burman parent recognizes the importance of good education, and will spend his last anna to obtain it for his children.

The policy of Government in educational matters has naturally been somewhat ill-defined in the past. Beyond laying down one or two principles and regulating examination standards it has more or less marked time, leaving everything beyond the bare courses to students themselves. The result is that the equipment of the schools is not what it should be. Every school should have its playground; games and athletics should be distinctly encouraged. They are more necessary in Burma than in England, for the climate in Burma is more relaxing, and the boys grow up

weedy unless they have some exercise. Playsheds covering a large area for use in the rains with elementary gymnastic apparatus, should be put in. Libraries should be formed. Music and dancing, of which the Burmese are passionately fond, should be taught, besides more utilitarian subjects. And, above all, the headships at schools should be in the hands of Oxford and Cambridge graduates of sportsmanlike character and of non-Indian birth. The boys of the schools are, as a body, keen in athletics, sportsmanlike, affectionate, truthful, keenly intolerant of anything underhand, and quite willing—nay, eager—to be dominated and guided by any strong character. But their needs have outrun the facilities and the purview of the Educational Department, and, in many cases, of the present generation of their masters. Besides these boys there are two other classes under education to consider—these are the boys being educated in England and the girls. Of them I shall speak later.

Now we come to another great change in Burmese ways. Of late years printing-presses have been established in most towns. The output of these presses is enormous, and is mainly of a religious or fabulous character, though books on such subjects as interest young men and song-books are poured out in enormous numbers also. There is nowadays scarcely a home in any village near a large town which does not contain one or more books, and one constable in every five has a broad-sheet of songs in his pocket.

Here, then, we have the elements of the change from the old order to the new that we have to consider. The old system of each for himself is gone, and in the new system more or less definite co-operation is taking more and more place. We have the growth of new classes of wealthy men of considerable refinement and knowledge of affairs, who must take a most important part in the future of the country; we have their sons, educated in England, for whom a place must be found in the social scheme; we have their daughters, increasingly educated where facilities

are provided in school and convent; and we have the general rise in the standard of comfort, and the demand for more sport and entertainment on better lines.

During the last ten years there have been continual efforts on the part of the Burmese to cope with the problems which this state of affairs gives rise to. These efforts were at first local and of small consequence. But the world movement which was caused by the success of Japan transmuted as it broke on our shores into a general desire for social betterment, and into what, with Buddhists, is almost the same thing—what is known as the religious revival. Since then we have moved fast, and are approaching some definite solution of many of our problems. Two peculiarities of these movements may be noted. First, that the Burman and the English official and resident have gone and are moving hand-in-hand in search for a solution. There is a unity of thought and feeling upon these subjects between Englishman and Burman which is a marvellous phenomenon in the history of the world, and gives the happiest auguries for the progress of our province. Secondly, hitherto all the social movements on the Burmese side have had their origin in the so-called “religious societies”—I say “so-called,” because, though they are “religious,” they are so in the true sense of the word, and not in the sense which Englishmen generally put on the word. They are societies which “bind together” their members by acts of hospitality to priests and laymen, and only very incidentally, or not at all, societies for common acts of worship.

I know very little of what has been done by the small local religious societies. I know that there is scarcely any pagoda without one or more. From time to time one sees in the paper that one or other has formulated a definite appeal to the Buddhist community at large against some practice. Thus, a society at Moulmein, I think, sent out an appeal to Burmans to curtail wedding expenses, and a society in Rangoon has appealed to Burmans to curtail

funeral expenses, and the habit of wearing expensive hired jewellery. But I must note two which are indicative of what is going on. One was the Quarter Club, near my house in Prome, where the old men used to meet—well-lighted, and provided with a large store of carpets and other requisites for festivals, with well-kept subscription books and accounts, and with the usual beautiful images of Buddha in bronze, alabaster, and plaster. This society ran a free school during the day in the building, and nothing important took place in that part of the town in which it did not participate. The next society is the Young Men's Buddhist Society of Thonze, which was started by young brokers and clerks from the Deputy Commissioner's office in 1903. During 1903 they confined their activities to going round with a band on Sundays, and to collecting offerings for the *Pongyn* and giving *Ahlus*. In 1904 they obtained a football-ground from the Deputy Commissioner and took to football, which has been steadily played on that ground ever since. In 1908 they actually conducted a football competition by themselves, not a single person connected with the competition being either an official or an Englishman, and twelve teams from nine different places took part, the competition being brought to a successful conclusion without any untoward incident. In the same year they proposed to build themselves a club, and consulted me about it. But the association had no fixed rules or books, and had no principle of recruitment. By the end of the year it had been depleted to such an extent by change and plague that it is now practically defunct.

Another characteristic Burmese institution I know the working of is the Buddhist Library on the Pagoda Platform in Prome, supported by voluntary monthly contributions, properly entered, and containing a large and increasing number of beautifully bound Buddhist books in good cases. This society is well managed voluntarily by the son of a well-to-do merchant of the place.

To turn to other movements which are not more important because they are better known :

1. I do not think that the English Pongyi U Dhammaloka, who began to tour the country about eight years ago, had much influence, social or otherwise. His sermons were mostly, so I understand, attacks on Christianity, in some cases conceived in very bad taste, and I think that the dubious character of his action has had much to do with the lack of appreciation of his efforts.

2. On the other hand, Ananda Maitreya (Alan MacGregor) has undoubtedly had a powerful social influence. He began his preaching from Rangoon about seven years ago, and though in his anxiety to make Buddhism familiar to the Western world and on account of the state of his health, he confined himself almost entirely to Rangoon, he had an undoubtedly great social influence in drawing together a number of the higher classes in Burma in connection with his magazine, *Buddhism*, issued 1903-1906, and in connection with the reunions of his society, the "Buddha-Sasana Samagama."

3. Mrs. Hla Oung, his *Tagama*, founded what was, I believe, the first "Buddhist school" in which the Buddhist religion was taught in a lay school. And I believe that she also founded the first Buddhist girls' school. Her social influence has been very great in other directions. She has, I believe, an important part in societies for the better teaching of women and for the care of children, all of which have an important social bearing.

4. Mrs. Hla Oung brought Ananda Maitreya to England in 1907-08, as a result of which we have seen the formation of the Buddhist Society, and the first issue of their magazine, *The Buddhist Review*, in January, 1909. I do not mention this from its religious aspect, but merely because it forms a point upon which

Burmese can meet with Englishmen who will sympathize with them.

5. Contemporaneous with these movements has been the formation of the Rangoon College Buddhist Association, in July, 1905, which has since had monthly lectures, some or all of which have been published.

6. Then, we have (in April, 1906) the formation of the society of English students, the objects of which are to assist Burmese students in England, and to further the interests of Burma.

7. Next the formation of the Young Men's Buddhist Association of Rangoon, in 1906, under the auspices of May Oung, who, as you know, took a leading part in the formation of our society. The Y.M.B.A. has now several branches in other towns, and is on the point of securing premises of its own, if it has not yet done so. Its magazine, *The Burman Buddhist*, is probably known to you all, and has been of considerable use in promoting social progress.

8. No review of religio-social work would be complete without a mention of the *Ledi Sadaw*. His sermons and visitations have a most powerful effect in the country. He has a marvellous influence over young men, and has done much good by preaching on their faults. And he is an able and broad-minded reformer, and has taken up questions of clubs and general combination when laid before him and preached on them himself.

The next point I want to draw your attention to is the vast increase of games, especially football, in Burma of late years. The Rangoon Football Association, with its secretary, Mr. Du Bern, are of course the pioneers of organization. They have now reached a point where they have obtained a ground and equipped it at a cost running, I believe, to a lakh of rupees. Second comes the Mandalay Football Association. These have been running some twenty years or more. But as both are mainly supported

by regimental, English, and Eurasian teams, they have not the influence that they might have on the sport throughout the country. Outside these two centres there are several where local leagues have been formed, and competitions take place. These are, so far as I know, Moulmein, Bassein, Myaungmya, Prome, Magwe, and Minbu, and the numbers of teams engaged last year have ranged from forty-four in the Prome League in which there were four competitions, Challenge Cup, Prome District, Tharrawaddy District and Schools (boys under seventeen) to two or three in the newer centres. I tried in 1908 to get out "A Football Year-Book" for Burma in communication with others, but it was very difficult to get particulars of the various competitions. This is a thing which might be done.

Another game which has undoubtedly helped to promote social relations is tennis. This is being increasingly played by the students in Rangoon, and was played in Myaungmya where Mr. Dunn laid out courts last year, among the clerks and officials, and was also played with much success under the supervision of Captain Lord by the schoolboys of Gyobingauk and Zigon. There is a real need for a dry- and hot-weather game for young clerks and brokers and merchants in Burma. Neither cricket nor baseball is adapted for play under our Burmese sun. I think that in tennis the Burmese have found a game that has come to stay.

As to gymnastics, whenever that is referred to, the gymnasium at Minbu is quoted as a failure. But that was not quite what is wanted in the average country school. What is wanted is a play-shed large enough for use during the rains, and for shelter from the sun, with merely so much apparatus as may be required from time to time.

In athletics the country owes much to Sir Herbert White's Grounds Circular in 1907, directing the provision of recreation-grounds for rising towns. But there are

difficulties connected with this circular. The older generation of officials (principally Burmese) do not understand the urgency or necessity of a ground. They sometimes think any strip of ground five acres in extent will do. And the process of acquisition is woefully slow. One or two places which have been unable to get a ground have complained to me of the time taken, or of the unsuitability of the ground selected. But it is not necessary to go to Government in every case. Any club can privately hire a ground for Rs. 80 a year, and might easily collect that sum with method.

The next movement I want to refer to is the one of clubs. A question which has much exercised the minds of English friends of the Burman in Burma has been, What can be done to keep up the good feeling and intercourse which exists among the higher classes in Burma now separating out and their English officials? One has even heard it mooted whether, considering the points I have noted, Burmese gentlemen of position should not be freely elected to the English station clubs which exist. As to this, I think that election to English station clubs is undesirable, and the less Burmans join these the better. In the first place, these are mainly supported by the sale of intoxicants, and so are undesirable for a Buddhist. In the second place, the premises are small. A wealthy Delta district may contain some 200 men, each of whom might be elected. The admission of one or two only would not please the rest. The admission of all would render it necessary to spend some Rs. 12,000 on the club premises, and would destroy their character entirely as places of rest for the tired Englishman, who, after some twelve hours' work in Burmese—which is, after all, a foreign language to him—wishes to be entirely free from thoughts of his work for an hour or two.

But I do think that there is no reason why Burmese should not build and equip clubs of their own. There is no reason why Englishmen should not join or be officials in these clubs. In these clubs, too, there would be less

restraint than exists where a Burman is admitted to an English club. I am not speaking from theory, but from actual experience in the matter. In 1904 some Burmese officials in Tharrawaddy formed a little club to take in some papers. This reading club met in the home of one of the members, and it added a small business of getting in stores for the members on the co-operative principle. In 1906 it drew up formal rules, and in 1907 took a home of its own—and *more Burmano* applied its profits to the maintenance of an Anglo-Vernacular School for the children of club members. It is now building premises of its own, the plans of which I have before me. It got a grant of land from Government after nominating trustees, and the lower floor will contain hall, with billiard-table, library, room for clerk and stores, bath-rooms and reception room; the upper floor consists of a hall for meetings, religious or otherwise, a spacious veranda, and four bedrooms. A feature of the club is that the Indian arrangement, due to caste, of a bath-room to each bedroom, and consequently ugly staircases, has been done away with, the English arrangement of one set of bath accommodation for the whole building being followed. The Public Works Department estimate for this was Rs. 8657, and the funds have been provided. The bedrooms are a feature of this club, because Tharrawaddy, having no native town, has no accommodation for the pleaders and merchants who visit the courts there. The premises will have tennis-courts and a rotunda for Burmese ladies.

I proposed to build a club on a slightly different principle at Prome. This was to be within the iron fence which I proposed for the Association Football Ground, and was to be of use in connection with that ground. The front veranda was to form the grand stand for the football; a back veranda would have been of use on the racecourse. It was to have a large hall for public purposes and gymnastic exercises, a library and reading-room combined, a "committee" room, in which each town club, such as the Races, Football Association, Broker's Club, Y.M.B.A., Gold-

smiths, etc., Clubs could have kept their own cupboards and held their meetings, a non-alcoholic bar and billiard-table in the hall, and a range of five bathrooms. The cost of this building would have been Rs. 8797, and I had Rs. 4350 promised me as soon as the scheme was mooted. This scheme has, however, been dropped for the present, because of my return to England. Captain Lord, to whom I owe much in suggestions as to these buildings, had a scheme for erecting a somewhat similar building in the newly-acquired football ground in Zigon. But when I last saw him I think he had only some Rs. 3000 available, and I am not sure whether this scheme will be practicable at present.

In the matter of the construction and organization of clubs such as this I am always ready to give my help. I am sure that in them lie the chances of the future. And I hope to form some guarantee fund which will enable me to proceed ahead of subscriptions in constructing such clubs on my return to Burma.

I will now turn to the ways in which I think we can help social movements.

So far as this Society is concerned it would be as well, when it gets its own premises, to keep a library of the magazines issued on socio-religious subjects. I do not think there is any advantage in starting this before we have rooms of our own.

So far as what we can do on our return is concerned, I think that what we have to do is—

1. To consider the advisability of building clubs of the type I have discussed, always remembering that the building and organization must not be on a type, but must suit local requirements.
2. To join such associations as the Y.M.B.A. and local clubs, and give them the support of any skill in organization we may possess.
3. To help in the acquisition of playgrounds and playsheds and libraries by schools, and in the acquisition of recreation grounds by towns and villages.

4. To push on the movement for higher Burmese Schools for Girls, who must be trained up to the standard of their prospective husbands.

5. To take an interest in football and tennis and music, and other popular recreations.

6. To do everything to help the movement to place at least high schools in the hands of men who are sportsmen belonging to our English Universities.

It will be noticed that in this paper I have said little about Burmese ladies, and nothing about the social relations between English and Burmese ladies, or the social relations which officials should cultivate with Burman gentlemen resident within their charges. I think that these are questions which are for the present outside the sphere of general discussion. What such relations should be must depend very much on the individuals who form them. That there is good-will on each side we know, and that is sufficient as a general observation.

What I am aiming at is social progress among Burmans themselves.

It may be said that, in dealing so much, as I do, with schools and games, I am getting away from my subject, as these are but a small part of life. There is force—but not much force—in the observation. What we have to provide for is more the rising generation than the present. And they will go as they were taught at school. Give them healthy recreation and reading, and you endow them for life with healthy body and mind. Encourage organized honest sport and societies, and you strike at the two failings of a Burman—lack of organization and unreliability. Be sure that the boys will make use of the lessons they have learnt in after-years; that they, and their wives with them, will be able to extend and vary their social system to requirements with true Burmese grace and politeness. So far as the English resident is concerned, he can approach the Burman socially on no safer side than that of sport. He may rest assured that in a case of difficulty, where advice is

necessary, the Burman will sooner go to the official who has met him or his son on the ground of sport than to the gentleman who has merely expended his endeavours in social entertainments.

PUBLICATIONS REFERRED TO.

Buddhism ; an illustrated quarterly, published by the Hanthawaddy Printing Works, Rangoon.

The Buddhist Review ; published by Probsthain and Co., 41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

The Rangoon College Buddhist Association Monthly Lectures ; British Burma Press.

The Burman Buddhist ; published by the Young Men's Buddhist Association, Rangoon.

A discussion followed :

Mr. J. E. Bridges said that the quick sympathies of a Burman, his straightforwardness, his sense of humour and his love of sport, made us love him and do all that we could for him. But it must be remembered that for social intercourse solid character was very necessary. And, moreover, many English people judged of their associates socially by outward marks. With many English people, the colour of a necktie or the way of holding a knife and fork might damn any man either in England or in Burma. He considered that the principle of clubs for Burmese by Burmen advocated in the paper was absolutely right, and was convinced that more intimate association with Burmese than they could hope for in any other way at present would be the result of Englishmen joining these clubs.

Maung Mya U said that the Burmese who came to England belonged to the better classes ; that they were accepted socially while studying in England, and that they became accustomed to English social ways ; and that it was very hard lines indeed if a Burman, on his return to his own country after years in England, was not accepted socially by English society, but was kept in an inferior position.

Mr. Hough said in England and in Europe generally there were social grades which did not mix much

socially—he might almost say castes. Every Burman in England must know of these grades, and it was impossible to free Burma from the system. He agreed that no general rules as to intercourse could be laid down, but that the amount and nature of social intercourse must be left to individuals.

Mr. Tin heartily endorsed the idea of clubs for Burmese.

Mr. Colston, in closing the discussion, said that he did not consider the question from the point of view of superiority or inferiority at all. He did not think that was the difficulty. The trouble was that there were two civilizations—he could not say which was superior or which inferior—in contact; and that while it would be very difficult for the men on each side to strike a common measure of social observance, it was almost impossible for the women to do so, as social history showed that women were intensely conservative. Moreover, it would be much easier for men trained in England to adapt themselves to the English social round on their return than for their wives and mothers who had lived in Burmese society all their lives. There was one English social observance, *dining*, held up as a fetish in the East. Now, the English customs and the Burmese customs differed so widely on this point of dining that it was almost impossible for English and Burmese families to dine together without restraint unless they were on terms of uncommon intimacy. But there were other features of English social life that might be of use.

That brought him back again to the point that the difficulty lay in the meeting of two civilizations. Neither side could gain anything by discarding their well-tried customs. Promotion of social intercourse was, he thought, in the present stage, a matter for individual kindly feeling and consideration, and not for general rules.

REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

THE Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908 have appeared.* It is a pamphlet of eighty-eight pages, containing, amongst other things, the list of members and the agenda of the meetings, all of no great interest.

Of quite a different nature are the two thick volumes of the *Proceedings of the Congress of North Africa*, which took place at Paris in October, 1908.† This Congress did not deal with questions relating to Orientalism, but with Colonial questions concerning only the Colonies or countries under French protectorate in North Africa, including Morocco; political, economical, commercial, and indigenous questions (military service, instruction, jurisdiction, religious institutions, etc.). The Colonial Congresses take place every five years. The two volumes referred to are a model of Congress Proceedings; the works and the discussions are published *in extenso*.

Under the title of "Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg" ‡ appeared an interesting collection of papers on Orientalism, dedicated to the memory of Professor Derenbourg (1908), by his friends, his colleagues, and his pupils. The volume, which contains a very good likeness of the professor, begins with a short and instructive account of Derenbourg by Maspero. The most varied subjects are dealt with by the thirty-eight French and other contributors to the volume.

To the dictionary of the Bible, published by the Abbé

* Copenhagen, imprimerie Graebe, 1909.

† "Congrès de l'Afrique du Nord," compte-rendu des travaux publié par Ch. Dépincé, 2 vol. 8^d in 8^o (802 et 903 pages). Paris: au siège du Comité d'organisation du Congrès, 1909.

‡ Paris: E. Leroux, 1909.

F. Vigouroux, has been added fasciculus xxxiv. (*Ravissement to Royaume de Dieu*),* and I desire to draw special attention to the articles on the Book of Kings and on the Red Sea.

"*La sainte Bible polyglotte*," published by the same author, is now completed with regard to the Old Testament. In the form of an appendix to the fifth volume, the Hebrew text of the Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach), with translation and numerous notes.†

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

I have to mention a good French translation of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, by L. Randon.‡ This translation contains good notes and introduction. In a general introduction the author retraces the history of the Apocrypha in their inclusion in the Greek and Latin Bible, and the sanction they had obtained in the course of time. With regard to the book of "Susannah," the author declares that the scholars are not agreed as to the original language of this fragment; it is thought generally, he says, that it was written in Greek, because of the play on words in verses 55 and 59, which is only possible in Greek, but it would not be impossible, according to the author, that they were added later, and that there was therefore no absolute proof. I cannot, however, agree with this suggestion. The story of Susannah has no sense if you curtail it of the incident where the Greek plays on words occur, and it seems very unlikely that these plays on words were added afterwards. The account of the contradiction of the stories in regard to the trees loses, in fact, some of its charm and of its savour by this curtailment. According to my opinion, the original text was written in Greek.

When speaking of Pastor L. Randon's translation, I may remind our readers of a very good translation of the Apo-

* Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910.

† Paris: A. et R. Roger et Chernowiz, 1909.

‡ "*Les livres apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament*." Paris: Fischbacher, 1909.

crypha, with notes, which appeared some years ago, in the excellent translation of the Old Testament, according to the original texts, by the Abbé A. Crampon.*

The fine collection of the Ethiopian, Apocrypha translated into French by R. Basset, has been enriched by fasciculus xi., which contains the "Explanation of Jesus" (Fekkare Iyasous).† This explanation is put in the mouth of Jesus, questioned by His disciples, the day of the Lord's supper, on the life hereafter and the circumstances which will bring the end of the world. This Apocrypha is recent, but it is impossible to fix its exact date. The manuscripts which have preserved us this Apocrypha are of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century.

A. Boissier has brought out an interesting work on "Les éléments babyloniens de la légende de Caïn et Abel" (The Babylonian elements of the legend of Cain and Abel).‡ In the difficult passage of Genesis (iv. 7), he remarks that in Hebrew מַשׁׁׁׁׁ corresponds with the Assyrian *niš rišim*, and that, in the language of the Chaldean soothsayers, *the elevation* (שִׁמָּה) is a favourable omen. With regard to sin "sitting at the door" in the Hebrew text, that is the evil genius (lunum libbim) personified by the demon called *mukil reš limuttim*, and frequently mentioned in augural Babylonian documents.

H. Strack has published a second edition, with German translation, of the Michnic treatise "Aboda Zara."§ It is known with what care these editions of the treatises of the Michna are prepared, with an introduction, notes, and a vocabulary.

To the Talmud of Babylon (text and German translation), by Lazarus Goldschmidt, vol. viii. has been added, which

* "La Sainte Bible," etc. Paris: Desclée Lefébure et C^{ie}, 1905 (édition révisée par les Pères de la C^{ie} de Jésus avec la collaboration de Professeurs de S^t Sulpice).

† Paris: librairie de l'Art indépendant, 1909.

‡ Genève: A. Kundig, 1909.

§ Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909. (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin, No. 5.)

contains the first part of the treatise חול" (von der Profanschachtung).*

In the collection "Der alte Orient" I draw attention to an interesting study by F. Delitzsch on Assurbanipal and the Assyrian civilization of his time.†

ARABIC LITERATURE AND ISLAM.

The eleventh volume of the "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes," by V. Chauvin,‡ which has recently appeared, is devoted to Mahomet. This volume is of very great interest; the author has compiled it with that extraordinary erudition and that critical sense for which he is well known. As the preceding volumes, it contains a valuable detailed analysis of important works. The Bibliography of Mahomet is divided into five parts: Modern Works, Works Previous to 1810, Dissertations on some Special Questions, Occidental Legends of Mahomet, Mahomet in Literature.

The "History of the Koran," by Thomas Noeldeke, has just appeared in a second edition, revised by F. Schwally.§ This new edition is very valuable and of great interest. The first part only has appeared; it treats of the origin of the Koran. The work is divided as follows: (I.) On the Prophecies and Revelations of Mahomet (Mahomet as prophet, sources of his teaching, his revelations); (II.) On the Origin of the different Parts of the Koran (Sūrahs of Mecca of the first, the second, and the third periods, Sūrahs of Medina, revelations of Mahomet that have no relation with the Koran, and have not been preserved in this book). The author seems to pass very lightly over the fine work of C. Huart,|| who finds in *Umayya b. abi*

* Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1909.

† Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909.

‡ "Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe Chrétienne de 1810 à 1885." Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1909.

§ "Geschichte des Korāns," von Th. Nöldeke, 2^{te} Aufl. bearbeitet von F. Schwally, 1^{ter} Theil, über den Ursprung des Korāns, Leipzig, Th. Weicher, 1909.

|| *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1904 (pp. 125-167), et "Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes," Paris, 1899-1903.

l-Salt one of the sources of the Koran.* In very learned and extensive notes he endeavours to show that there is not one original word in the first Sūrah (the classical prayer of Islam), but that all its elements are of foreign origin (Old Testament, Apocrypha, Targum, etc.). I am of a different opinion. It would be easy by this same method to prove that *the Lord's Prayer* (Our Father, etc.) is composed of fragments from all sources, and has in consequence no originality. This superficial opinion affords no real demonstration, and does not convey any conviction. It is not to be forgotten that the Islam, notwithstanding its derivation from Judaism and Christianity, is a religion of extreme originality.

M. Hartmann has brought out a good manual on Islam,† which distinguishes itself by its exactitude and its precision; the part relating to law is particularly well done. The author, it is true, is one of the best-informed men on Islam.

We further mention two interesting essays by I. Goldziher. The first deals with the neo-platonic and gnostic elements of the Mussulman tradition.‡ The author examines especially the theory of emanation, of which he finds very curious traces, and the affirmation under varied forms of the pre-existence of Mahomet. The second gives the Arabic text (in Hebrew characters) and the contents of an anonymous treatise on the doctrine of the attributes of God, a tract made from the *mu'tazilit* point of view.§

The Encyclopedia of Islam|| has been enlarged by a fourth part (Ahmed-Alf Laila wa-Laila); the first three parts came out in 1908. It is impossible to foresee in what year this large work will be terminated, as its publication is so slow.

* See our Report of July, 1908.

† "Der Islam: Geschichte, Glaube, Recht, ein Handbuch," von Martin Hartmann. Leipzig: R. Haupt, 1909.

‡ "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Hadith" (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*; Strassburg, 1908).

§ "Ein anonymer Traktat zur Attributenlehre" (*Festschrift zum 70 Geburtstag A. Harkavy's*; Budapest, 1909).

|| Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1909.

THE EMPEROR BĀBAR AND THE HISTORIAN KHWĀND AMĪR.

No. II.*

By H. BEVERIDGE.

IF anyone doubt the startling resemblance between parts of the Ḥabību-s-Siyar and Bābar's Memoirs, let him, in the first place, compare the Ḥabīb, Bombay edition, II. 292, with p. 59 of Erskine's translation of the Memoirs. In both places he will find two lists of names, one giving the names of the officers who deserted Bābar in 903 A.H., after his loss of Samarkand and Andījān, and the other giving the names of those who adhered to him. The first list has only five names, and they are the same and *in the same order* in both places. The second list, which begins at six lines from the foot of the page, has eighteen names in the Ḥabīb, and twenty in Erskine. The eighteen names of the Ḥabīb are all in Erskine, and in the same order, and the difference of two in the totals is due to Erskine's having wrongly included 'Alī Dost Taghāī in his list, and to his having the entry of "a Jalāīr." 'Alī Dost Taghāī certainly did not adhere to Bābar, for he treacherously surrendered the Andījān fort to his enemy, and we find him later on, p. 65 of Erskine, at Marghīnān, and suing to Bābar for pardon. Instead of Muḥammad Dost and 'Alī Dost Taghāī, the proper entry is, as in the Ḥabīb, "Muḥammad Dost, son of 'Alī Dost Taghāī." The entry "a Jalāīr" is probably also a mistake, the name being, apparently, part of the description of Qāsim 'Ajab.

Again, if he compare the account of the battle near Kārdzan, between Bābar and Shaibānī in 906 A.H., and the subsequent siege of Samarkand by the Uzbegs, p. 92 of Erskine *et seq.*, with the Ḥabīb, pp. 308 and 309, he will

* For No. I see our issue of October last.

find them to agree very closely. Even such minor incidents as those of Bābar and his companions cutting off the cataphracts of their horses before recrossing the Kohik, and of Bābar's killing a white horse with a lucky shot from his cross-bow, are mentioned in both narratives.

The lists of officers referred to above do not occur in the Tehrān edition of the Ḥabīb, and it may be urged that Khwānd Amīr inserted them in India, and after seeing Bābar's Memoirs, or receiving details from him personally. But what shall we say of the Tihiran edition, which does not contain any note about revision in India, and which is based on a manuscript completed in 931 A.H., or September, 1525, and consequently before Bābar had reached India? The Tihirān edition contains the incident of removing the cataphracts, and though it does not mention the killing of the horse, its account of the battle, p. 288, and of the siege, is nearly as full as that in the Bombay edition. It also gives, p. 286, corresponding to p. 304 of the Bombay edition, the story of Bābar's dream. Now, though the precise date when Bābar wrote his Memoirs is not known, he in several places alludes in them to events which occurred in India, and so the presumption is that he wrote them there, and consequently not earlier than 1526. In his account of Samarkand, which occurs early in the volume, and under the year 903, he takes occasion to mention that Vikrāmāditya's Observatory and Tables were constructed 1,584 years before the date at which he is writing. As pointed out by Erskine, 1584 Vik. corresponds to 934 A.H. or 1527, and therefore Bābar was writing in that year and in India. Jahangir in his Memoirs also refers to Vikrāmāditya's date, and in giving the account of the eleventh year of his reign says that 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.) corresponds to 1675 Vik. This agrees with Bābar's statement, for $934 + 92 = 1026$, and $1584 + 91 = 1675$, the difference of a year being due to the shortness of the Muḥammadan twelve-month.

The above remarks do not show that Bābar copied the

Ḥabīb, but they seem to show that neither did Khwānd Amīr copy the Memoirs. If, however, Bābar did not copy the Ḥabīb, both he and Khwānd Amīr must have drawn from some common source. Indeed, if Bābar did not write his Memoirs till he was in India, and some twenty years after leaving Ferghana and Herat, he could not have given his long details about these places without having some memoranda to refer to. I have pointed out in a previous article that differences of detail both in Khwānd Amīr's and Bābar's accounts seem to indicate that Khwānd Amīr had other sources of information, and was not a mere copyist of the Memoirs, even if we could suppose the improbable circumstance that Khwānd Amīr had seen the Memoirs, or had personal information from Bābar, and yet had not paraded the fact. To these differences I may now add that the Ḥabīb, Bombay edition, p. 310, in its account of Bābar's leaving Samarkand in the beginning of 907, mentions the interesting circumstance that Bābar, on his way to Andījān, was met by his younger brother Jahangir, and warned not to proceed further, as Andījān was in the hands of the enemy. This incident* is not mentioned in the Memoirs.

* The incident is an interesting one, and the Ḥabīb's mention of it is evidence that he was not a mere copyist of the Memoirs ; but it is doubtful if it really occurred, for it seems to contradict a statement by Bābar.

VON POSER'S DIARY IN PERSIA AND INDIA.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

I AM indebted to my friend Mr. Irvine for the knowledge of this curious record. Von Poser, whose full name was Henry von Poser und Gross Nedlitz, was a Silesian gentleman, who travelled in the East in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. He was born at Eisdorf in 1599, and his travels began in 1620, and ended in 1624. After his return he twice married, and he became Land-steward or Factor in a German principality. He died in 1661, and was buried in the church of St. Elizabeth in Breslau. He wrote the diary of his travels in Latin, and probably it was not intended for publication. It was translated into German, and published at Jena in 1675 by one B. G., of Schweidnitz, who was a dependent of Von Poser's son. B. G. added some useful notes,* and his translation is doubtless correct; but he was not an Orientalist, and he seems to have omitted some passages of the diary. One thing he was obliged to omit was some Persian lines in praise of the Emperor of India, which used to be sung or recited on State occasions. These were copied out into the diary for Von Poser by a Mullā named Allahdād (Theodore). Possibly the original diary is still in existence, and if so it is to be hoped that some learned German will publish it, after correcting the names of persons and places.

Von Poser seems to have been a pious, simple-minded, and simple-living man, with a love of travel, and an appreciation of natural scenery. Apparently the chief reason for his making a difficult and even dangerous journey was the spirit of curiosity, though the presence of a friend, Albert Schilling, at Ispahan may also have been an

* In the notes there is a genealogical account of the Kings of Ormus taken from a record by Von Poser.

inducement. His travels were extensive, for he traversed Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, Upper India, and the Deccan. Then he went into Gujerat, and visited Cambay and Aḥmadabad. He was twice at Surat, and went from there to Persia, where he visited the ruins of Persepolis, and then went home by Babylon and Aleppo. His diary is very concise, and omits many things that one would like to know. But it is full of names and dates, and as he was in India at the interesting time when Shāh Jahan was rebelling against his father Jehangir, the diary contains some valuable historical details. The diary expands somewhat after Von Poser leaves Agra for the Deccan, and contains notices of Ujjain, Māndū, Masulipatam, etc.

Von Poser left his home on August 20, 1620, and went first to Constantinople, where he stayed till the following January. He set off for the East on the 20th of that month, and had a hard journey through Asia Minor, over steep hills and snowy roads. Apparently his motive for leaving in the depth of winter was that a Persian ambassador, Takhta Beg, was returning then, and gave him as a companion one Dargah Quli Beg. At Osmanjik he met with another ambassador, Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ Beg, who was the servant of the Shāh of Gīlān. Von Poser's friends tried to dissuade him from his journey, and John Eyre, the British ambassador at Constantinople, remarked to him that though it was sweet to die for one's fatherland, it was sweeter to die in it; and that though he hoped the young man would return safely from Persia, where he had nothing to do, and to hope for, he considered such a result to be doubtful. Von Poser journeyed via Scutari, the Kizil Irmak River (Red River, the ancient Halys), Osmaniik, Tokat, and Erzerum, and reached Ispahan on June 14. On the way he was struck with Khonsār, which he thought the most delightful town in Persia. He had an interview with Abbas I. on June 15, and in Ispahan he met with his friend Albert Schilling and the famous traveller Pietro Della Valle. He greatly admired Imam Qulī's bridge

over the Zendrūd. He set off for India in company with one Claudio Bourne, and passing by Farāh and Girishk, and crossing the Helmand, reached Qandahar on September 21. At that time both Girish and Qandahar were in the possession of Jehangir, the then Governor of Qandahar being Bahādur K. Uzbek. Von Poser admired Qandahar very much, but found it a dissolute place; the three evils he noticed in it were wine-drinking, smoking, and the use of coffee (?).^{*} He was not surprised that Shah Abbās should look with longing eyes on the place, and indeed it was not many months afterwards that he took it from Jehangir.

Von Poser suffered much from illness on this journey, but at last arrived at Alachan (?) on the Indus. On November 5 he reached Multan, and on November 23 Lahore. He praises the beautiful road, shaded with trees, from Lahore towards Agra (made by Jehangir). He notices Sultanpūr, Serai Jehangirpūr, Nicandar (Nakodar), Ludiana, Sirhind, Hoḍal. Among interesting things he mentions the fall of the meteorite in the Jallundhar district chronicled by Jehangir, and says three swords were made out of it. He also met in with Augustinus Hiriart, or Hiriard, of Bordeaux in Gascony, the engineer of the Great Moghul. This must be the Austin of Bordeaux of Shāh Jahan's time, and Hiriart is perhaps a corruption of Hunarmand, a title which Jehangir conferred on a European artist. Von Poser was at Delhi on January 4, 1622. He saw Jehangir when he was in camp at Bali (?), and was struck by his thoughtful countenance. He also visited Faridābad, Mathura, etc., and was twice at Agra. He left it for the Deccan in July. Halting at Dholpūr, he describes the contest between the servants of Jehangir and Shāh Jahan for the possession of that place. Antri, near Gwalior, he mentions as famous for its *pūn* gardens. His account of Ujjain is somewhat full. He notices the ascetic

* Elsewhere he speaks of coffee (*kefe*) as making people mad, but I am doubtful if *kefe* means coffee, or if the word has been correctly translated from the Latin. Hemp or opium (*koḥnār*) is more likely to have been meant by Von Poser.

Jadrūp, and the story that the Seprā sometimes flowed with milk. At Māndu he tells the story, referred to by Abu-l-Fazl and Jehangir, of the foundation of the city, and of the stone that turned everything to gold. He saw Shāh Jahan, and describes him as a middle-aged man, with a long black beard and a very pale face. He also chronicles the scandal, alluded to by Sir T. Roe, that he was at one time the lover of Nūr Jahān. He asserts that Shāh Jahan murdered Khusrau, and mentions the rumour that he at first tried to strangle him with his own hands. He was stopped by Khusrau's calling out: "Who dares, under the government of Shāh Jahan, to put his wicked foot here at midnight." The actual murderers, he says, were Rajah Bukar-Manjick (? Vickramājī), Ḥakim Alumbdī, and a Georgian slave named Risa. He says they first tried to suffocate Khusrau with pillows, then they tried to strangle him, and finally they killed him with clubs. I do not think there is sufficient evidence that Shāh Jahan killed Khusrau; but certainly he was partly to blame for the suspicion, for he should not have importuned his father to make over Khusrau to him. It was a curious arrangement, and one that Jehangir should not have consented to make. It is rather in favour of Shāh Jahan that Jehangir, while abusing Shāh Jahan, and calling him the "Wretch," never accuses him of having killed Khusrau.

Von Poser stopped at Akbar Serai on the Nerbudda, and speaks of being glad to leave behind him a great river and also Gatti Bamour (?), where not long before had been shed the blood of that honourable man Hermann Abraham. He was a servant of Shāh Jahan, and was returning to him when he was murdered. The diarist visited Burhānpūr, and saw in the Deccan Murtaza Nizām Shāh II., whom he calls Brand (Burhān) Nizām Shāh, and says he was a boy of fifteen. He had no real power, everything being managed by Malik Ambar. Von Poser also went to Bijāpur, or rather Nauraspūr, where Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh was reigning. Here he met in with George Krieger, a Knight of the

Golden Fleece, etc. Apparently Von Poser was a poor man, and was often indebted to Dutchmen and others for his subsistence. On June 2, 1623, he was at Surat, and was kindly treated by Peter van den Broecke. The most remarkable thing that happened while he was there was the arrival of 'Abdullah Khān after his defeat at Aḥmadabad. 'Abdullah lost everything on this occasion, but became richer than ever by plundering Jehangir's servants, Hājī Jalālu-d-dīn, Rūḥ Ullah Ḥakīm, and others. Von Poser gives 'Abdullah the name of *Giachemi*—i.e., *Zakhmī*, or "Wounded," which is also used by the author of the "*Maaṣir-l-Umarā*." He speaks of Broach as being governed by Bulāqī, the unhappy son of the ill-starred Khusrāu. Bulāqī was then under the charge of his grandfather, the Khān A'ẓim. In another place he speaks of the Khān A'ẓim—i.e., 'Azīzkoka—as having fourteen daughters and twelve sons. Von Poser returned to Surat on October 19, 1623, and left it for the Persian Gulf on November 15. He mentions that there were four English ships lying at Surat—viz., the *Blessing*, the *Dolphin*, the *William*, and the *Reformation*. On his return home he was married on June 26, 1629, and, two days afterwards, an Indian boy whom he had bought in the Deccan was baptized. The account which the young proselyte gave of himself is curious. There had been a great famine in the Carnatic, and his mother sold him to a sepoy, the sepoy resold him to a Dutch captain, and the latter sold him to Von Poser.

MR. KEIR HARDIE'S "INDIA."*

By R. A. L. MOORE, ESQ., I.C.S. (RETIRED).

I PROPOSE to make some remarks on "India"—not India the venerable Motherland of history, philosophy, and religion—but the India evolved by Mr. Keir Hardie's powerful imagination; the "India," in fact, comprised in the narrow bounds of this little blue book.

My remarks will be brief, for the excellent reason that I propose to deal less with the impressions and suggestions of Mr. Keir Hardie than with the alleged facts on which these impressions are based, for we shall doubtless agree that if the premises are inaccurate, the deductions are not likely to be correct. Now, to begin at the beginning, let us turn to the first page of Mr. Keir Hardie's preface. He there informs us that his book is the result of *two months* occupied in travelling through India.

Think of it, two months for traversing "the vasty plains of Ind," to use a Shakesperian expression—two months for comprehending and forming an opinion on the condition of a sub-continent as large as all Europe without Russia, possessing religions older and a social system more complex than anything to be found in the Western world, and inhabited by a fifth of the whole human race, a population of three hundred millions, the largest in the world with the possible exception of China.

Why, the feat of the agile Yankee, who boasted that he had "done England in a week," looks small before the traversing of India and the comprehension of Indian conditions in two months.

Such breathless hurry on the part of our author obviously discounts the value of the "impressions and suggestions" he has offered to the public.

* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

However, if Mr. Keir Hardie's agility was extraordinary, his modesty is commendable, for on this same first page he writes: "*I have neither claim nor desire to pose as an authority on India and its affairs.*" What a pity that so fair a promise was so belied in the performance! For on the last two pages of his preface this modest appreciator of his own lack of Indian knowledge and experience, who doesn't pretend to even a superficial acquaintance with any Indian language, writes as follows: "*The policy now being pursued by the Government is to show special favour to the Mohammedans, and it looks with a complacent eye upon, even if it does nothing to foster, outbursts of fanatical strife between the two sections of religious belief.*"

Now, what evidence does Mr. Keir Hardie adduce to support this outrageous charge against the Government of India? What instance does he quote to show partiality towards the Mohammedans or approval of inter-racial dissension? Not one—not a single word of evidence. But if anyone thinks it worth his while to seek evidence to the contrary let him remember the appointment of two distinguished Indians to the Secretary of State's Council, one a Hindu and the other a Mohammedan; the appointment of one eminent Hindu to the Viceroy's Council, though no Mohammedan was appointed; and the appointment of Indian judges to, I believe, the benches of every High or Chief Court in India, the majority being Hindus.

For instance, in the Bombay High Court there is one Hindu and one Parsi judge, but no Mohammedan, while the Judicial Commissioners of Oude and the Central Provinces are both Hindus. So, too, to take another line, are the Vice-Chancellors of both the Calcutta and Bombay Universities. These *facts* do not support Mr. Keir Hardie's allegation *that undue partiality* is shown to the Mohammedans, nor does the immense preponderance of Hindus in the ranks of the subordinate judiciary and the magistracy.

On passing from the Preface to p. 1 of the book itself,

we read as follows: "*At no period of India's history has there ever been such a regular soaking drain upon its people as now. It is calculated that the British capital invested in India in railways, irrigation schemes, public works, and undertakings of various kinds, amounts to five hundred millions. That itself at 5 per cent. interest represents a burden upon India of twenty-five millions sterling a year. By a burden I mean that the interest is paid to bondholders in this country, and is not therefore benefiting the people from whom it is taken.*" Now, interest is generally supposed to benefit the person *to whom it is paid* in return for the loan of his capital. Apparently Mr. Keir Hardie considers that this general rule should be abrogated in some way in favour of India. As a matter of fact, what Indians do benefit by is the *expenditure in India of British capital*. For proof of this, reference may be made to the flourishing and populous canal colonies in the Punjab and Sind, to the millions of Indians who travel over the ever-increasing network of Indian railways, and to the thousands of labourers employed in Indian tea-gardens, Indian mines, Indian mills, and on these same Indian railways, being thereby withdrawn from the overcrowded calling of agriculture. India, in using and paying interest on British capital, forms one of a goodly company of advanced communities, other members of which are Canada, Australia, the Argentine Republic, and, last but not least, the United States of America, all of whom borrow capital from Britain, and pay interest for its use to British investors. Why, just lately Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand (a community so advanced that it has improved suffragettes off the face of the earth *by giving them the vote*) returned home from a visit to England. He promptly called a public meeting to give an account of his stewardship, and at once proceeded to put his audience into good humour by announcing that he had managed to borrow another million in London for New Zealand, and that New Zealand's borrowing powers in the London market

were unimpaired. Loud applause from the intelligent and appreciative audience. New Zealanders don't talk of a soaking drain when they pay interest to British investors. No, they welcome all the British capital they can get and *ask for more*—like *Oliver Twists* up to date.

The fact is that Mr. Keir Hardie's remark that India is not benefited by the interest she pays for capital borrowed is inspired by *Socialism*. According to the thorough-paced Socialist, *all interest on investments is robbery, being unearned increment*. How would this doctrine commend itself to the great banking and money-lending classes in India? It is most certainly a matter for regret that a larger portion of the capital expended in executing the great public works in India has not been provided by Indian investors. Apparently the rate of interest offered is not high enough to attract most of them, but that Government would gladly welcome their larger participation will be obvious to anyone who reflects that, the greater the number of Indians who have a pecuniary interest in the prosperity of Government undertakings, the greater the hold Government has on their enlightened loyalty.

Finally, it must be remembered that much more than half the British capital borrowed by India has been put by the Government of India to reproductive uses, has been expended on railways or irrigation canals, which pay a much higher rate of interest than the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid to the British investor. With the surplus profit thus obtained the Government of India is able to avoid fresh or to reduce existing taxation, as, for instance, in the case of the salt-tax. In this way the use of British capital has resulted not in a drain on the resources of the people of India, but in a direct alleviation of the burden of taxation borne by them.

On p. 2 Mr. Keir Hardie asserts that the Indian cultivator has to pay in taxes and local cesses "*not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest*." A few lines farther on he adds: "*From time to time the revenue charges are revised, so that the Government may obtain the last penny which can*

be wrung from the overweighted peasant. Increases of 30 per cent. are common, and there are many on record of 50, 70, and even 100 per cent."

Well, I have heard a tale of an eminent philanthropist, *which I didn't believe*, that his income was nothing a year, on which he lived, giving away the surplus in charity.

According to our author, this is often the position of the Indian cultivator. For clearly, if a man starts by paying Government 75 per cent. of his harvest—that is his gross produce—and then has his payments increased by 50, 70, or even 100 per cent., he must in his last and worst state be paying over to Government not only all his harvest, but something more in addition. Where does he get that something more from? Does he extract it from the air, as a conjuror produces rupees apparently from space? But the Indian cultivator is no conjuror. He is simply an honest, hard-working peasant farmer, who certainly does not pay over to Government more than all his harvest, or even 75 per cent. of it. Various estimates of what he actually does pay have been made by various authorities, and probably the variety of the estimates results from the variety of the localities in which they were made.

Thus, I have seen it stated that in the Deccan, where the land is often poor, the revenue demand averages 7 per cent. of the *gross* produce, and that in Guzerat, which abounds in rich cotton-fields, it averages 20 per cent. of the *gross* produce; while in the Punjab, I believe, the Government share of the rent is nominally about half the *net* produce, though actually less. A pamphlet lately issued by this Association puts the average revenue demand for the whole of India at about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the gross produce. This result is evolved by taking the average gross produce as worth only Rs. 15 per acre, and by pointing out that the *average* revenue demand is rather less than Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per acre, the total revenue demand for all British India being in round figures Rs. 300,000,000, and the total area of crops being

about 250,000,000 acres. This estimate is supported by the results of an inquiry made by the Government of India, which showed the average incidence of land revenue on gross produce per acre to be from 6 per cent. to 10 per cent. throughout British India, excepting some parts of Madras and Guzerat, where the incidence reaches 20 per cent. But even if the average incidence be pitched higher than this, it has never been placed by any person possessed of a competent knowledge of Indian agricultural conditions at anything approaching Mr. Keir Hardie's wild flight of fancy. I understand that the maximum estimate is that of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, a distinguished Indian Revenue officer, now Diwan of Baroda, who has placed the highest incidence of land revenue on gross produce at about 31 per cent. in Madras, and 33 per cent. in Bombay. But Mr. Keir Hardie's lowest surpasses Mr. Dutt's highest by a trifle of about 225 per cent. As for the periodical increases of land revenue made by the Indian Governments, in the Bombay Presidency, at all events—the part of India I know best—no increase is made because of tenants' improvements. All Government takes is a toll on the "unearned increment" resulting from public improvements or rises in the price of produce. Does Mr. Keir Hardie disapprove of the taxation of unearned increment in England? or does he change his politics east of Suez?

On pp. 10 and 11 of his book Mr. Keir Hardie speaks of "*Lord Curzon's autocratic method of forcing his undigested and ill-advised scheme of partition upon the province in the teeth of the opposition of practically the entire population.*"

Now, on his p. 29 our author himself says that 75 per cent. of the people of Eastern Bengal—the province resulting from the partition—are Mohammedans. It is a matter of common knowledge that the bulk of these Mohammedans are in favour of the partition, and have held public meetings to protest against the idea of its revocation. Quite apart,

then, from the merits or demerits of Lord Curzon's action, on which I offer no opinion, it is a mis-statement of fact to allege that it was opposed by *practically the entire population*.

In fact, on his p. 33 Mr. Keir Hardie himself writes : "*In the new Eastern Province of Bengal two-thirds of the population are Mohammedan, and many of the Mussulman leaders therefore support the partition, since it gives them a sphere in which their influence is dominant.*"

Here the writer gives an obvious reason why the partition should not be opposed by "practically the entire population," and here we find the positive politician, Mr. Keir Hardie, of p. 10, contradicted by the eminent Indian authority, Mr. Keir Hardie, of p. 33.

That our author should call the Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal, on p. 29, 75 per cent. of the population of that province, and put them down at only two-thirds of that population on p. 33, is characteristic of his weakness in accuracy or in arithmetic—perhaps both.

On p. 73, Mr. Keir Hardie writes with reference to the separation of magisterial and administrative functions : "*It is obviously absurd that the official responsible for framing a charge should also be the party to try it.*"

This remark presumably refers to the fact that the District Magistrate is the head not only of the magistracy, but of the police of a district. The District Magistrate, however, rarely tries original cases.

His magisterial functions are chiefly confined to hearing appeals in minor cases, while the appeals in the more serious cases are heard by the Sessions Court. Apart from the District Magistrate, no magistrate has any administrative control over the police.

On p. 80, Mr. Keir Hardie remarks in regard to the Native States : "*Each State is under obligation to maintain certain military forces, which are at the disposal of the British authorities when needed for the defence of India. This had its origin, I believe, in a good-natured offer of one*

of the Indian rulers at a time when there was threatened trouble with Russia, and what was then a voluntary offer of help on his part to the Imperial Government has become practically a compulsory charge on the Native States for all time to come. It hampers the Native States seriously in many directions."

This is a striking instance of the manner in which Mr. Keir Hardie makes positive and sweeping assertions on subjects with which he is very imperfectly acquainted. First of all, his allegation that *each* Native State is under obligation to maintain troops is simply *not true*. Many of the smaller States maintain no troops at all. In the case of those States that do maintain them, their forces may, generally speaking, be divided into two classes:

(a) Those kept under treaty obligations with the supreme Government. These treaties are often a century old, and have certainly nothing to do with Russia. The troops maintained under them are kept for the internal policing of the State to which they belong, and are neither intended nor fitted for the defence of India against external foes.

(b) Those commonly called Imperial Service Troops. These latter are contrived a double debt to pay. They serve both to maintain internal order in the States, and to assist in the defence of India against external foes. Their maintenance is entirely *voluntary* on the part of the States. Thus, one of the leading States, that of Baroda, keeps no Imperial Service Troops, and the troops themselves are not a burden on the States that maintain them, but a source of pride—a pride thoroughly justified by the efficiency and gallantry displayed by many of them on the North-West Frontier.

On p. 87 Mr. Keir Hardie remarks: "*The plague is now persisting and continuing in a way and manner hitherto unknown, and I believe the cause to be the growing poverty of the people.*"

Now, I should like Mr. Keir Hardie to answer me two questions on this subject: If *poverty* produces plague, why

did the Parsis of Bombay suffer so severely from it? The Parsis are an enlightened and well-to-do community. They boast, and I believe with truth, that there are no beggars among them. Why, then, were they stricken with plague? Certainly, not because of *poverty*, from which they are markedly and commendably free. Again, if poverty produces plague, why did the epidemic ravage the Native States, which are not subject to the "soaking drain" of the British Government? Why did it attack so virulently even the State of Baroda, which Mr. Keir Hardie frequently and rightly eulogizes for progress and prosperity, and the State of Mysore, that model of administration by Indians for Indians?

No! The real cause of the spread of the plague is clear to anyone who is not bent on finding a reason which may discredit the Government of India. That cause consists in the *increased facilities of communication*. When Ahmedabad was overwhelmed with plague in the early years of the nineteenth century, the foul disease did not spread throughout India, because railways did not then exist and roads were few, bad, and unsafe. As a consequence, the inhabitants of affected localities could not fly to distant places, carrying the infection with them. Mr. Keir Hardie begins his chapter headed "Poverty and Plague" with some statistics—given on his p. 85—of the average income of various peoples, per person per annum. He takes the average Indian income per head to be £2 per annum on Lord Curzon's authority, and he states the average income per head in England to be £42, without, however, stating the source of his information. He goes on to point out that, as the Indian income is less than one-twentieth of that in England, "perpetual poverty is bound to be the lot of the inhabitants"—i.e., the inhabitants of India. Now, there is no doubt that India is a poor country and that England is a rich one. But England was poor once; indeed, she has not been rich for much more than a century. She has only become rich by developing her

industries. India's industries are still in their infancy. Develop them and the material condition of the people will improve *pari passu*. It is absurd to speak of *perpetual poverty* in connection with a country that grows nearly all the jute in the world, the best rice, the best tea, and the best indigo; that can boast of coal-mines, gold-mines, and mines of manganese ore; that can point to teeming oil-wells and wide-spreading sugar-cane fields; and that is one of the chief contributors to the world's stock of cotton and of wheat.

No! all that India needs is development by the application of more capital—Indian capital, if possible, and if that is not sufficiently available, then capital from wherever it can be obtained. Now to turn from generals to particulars, from countries to individuals, it should be pointed out that the fact, actual or alleged, that the English individual income is twenty-one times that of the individual in India, is not a fair measure of the comparative well-being of the Englishman and the Indian. To begin with, the so-called average of incomes in England is swollen by the fortunes of a number of multi-millionaires, whose counterparts are much less numerous in India. Just lately Mr. Wadia, a Parsi millionaire of Bombay, left a fortune of about one million sterling. This is, I believe, the biggest Indian fortune heard of since the death of Mr. Tata some years ago—Mr. Tata, the patriotic founder of the Indian Research University. But during the *first six months* of the current financial year the British Chancellor of the Exchequer has levied death duties on one fortune of about £2,500,000, on another of about £3,000,000, and on a third, that of Mr. Morison, of nearly £7,000,000. Again, in a list of the eight or nine richest women in the world which lately appeared in the Press, two British names appeared but no Indian ones. The Marchioness of Graham, formerly Lady Mary Hamilton, is credited with £5,000,000 sterling, and the Duchess of Roxburghe, an American heiress married to a Scottish peer, with £4,000,000 sterling. Further, it

must be remembered that well-being depends not more on the amount of hard cash possessed than on climate, customs, and local prices. There is little difference in the well-being of the average working-man, whether he be German, British, or American, though the German draws the lowest and the American the highest wages of the trio. Now, most Indian working-men live in villages and own their own houses. Thus, the item of rent bulks much less largely in the Indian than in the English household budget among the working-classes. So, too, the warmer climate of India entails less expenditure on clothes and fuel, and the Indians, chiefly because of religious scruples, consume much less meat and intoxicating liquors than the British of a corresponding class. But rent, clothes, fuel, meat and drink, are the chief heads of household expenditure in Europe. As the Indian pays less under every one of them than his Western counterpart, the difference in well-being between them is by no means so great as would appear *primâ facie* from a hasty comparison of the cash representing their individual incomes.

The next charge Mr. Keir Hardie brings against his fellow-countrymen in India is one of lack of consideration for the Indian cultivator in years when the harvest is bad, as compared with the sympathy shown by native rulers in past times. Speaking of the native administration of former days he says, on p. 88: "*When the harvest was poor the ruler's share of it was small in proportion,*" while, on p. 92, he states that the peasant's rent under British rule is a "*fixed quantity, 'whether the crop be good or bad.'*" Now, I have no fault whatever to find with Mr. Keir Hardie's commendation of the good points in native administration. But I submit that if he was able by inquiry to ascertain these good points, he could equally well have discovered by investigation commendable features in British administration, and he was equally bound to report them if he wished to state his case fairly.

I will speak of that part of British India with which I am

best acquainted, the Bombay Presidency, where I served in the Revenue Department for a quarter of a century. As regards that Presidency Mr. Keir Hardie's allegation that the rent paid by the cultivators to Government is a fixed quantity, the same in good and bad years alike, is a sheer untruth.

For years past in British Western India under the standing orders of Government, the collectors of districts regulate the revenue demand according to the harvest. In bad years they suspend and remit considerable amounts not only of the ordinary land revenue, but of the water-rate payable for irrigational facilities. More than that, they are allowed, with the sanction of their official superiors, to suspend, and even to remit at times, payment of cash loans made to the cultivators by Government, technically called *takavi*. If Mr. Keir Hardie could get information about what was done a century or two ago before the era of the British Government, what debarred him from obtaining information about these facts of to-day?

Mr. Keir Hardie proceeds farther with his contrast on p. 89, where he says: "*Nor were the interests of the Pariahs so much neglected as it is customary to assume. Here also custom secured for the lowest class of workers not only certain harvest perquisites, but also the free use of certain lands.*" And farther down the same page he says certain young Pariahs informed him "*things were worse for their class now, because they no longer had free use of land.*"

Now I prefer to make statements about matters of which I have personal knowledge. I shall therefore again refer to the Bombay Presidency. In the Bombay Deccan the class corresponding to the Madras Pariahs are called Mhars. At this moment these Mhars have the free use of certain lands in each village, technically called *hadola* and *harka* lands, and at the present time they receive certain harvest perquisites technically called *baluta*. But Mr. Keir Hardie did not take the trouble to ascertain these features of the

existing administration well known to every revenue official in the Western Presidency.

On p. 92 Mr. Keir Hardie takes up a fresh line of attack against the British administration. He writes as follows: "*When the peasant wants fuel he has to go to the Government depôt and buy it, or obtain a licence, on payment of a fee, of course, to go and cut it, even when the trees are grown on his own land.*"

Well, if the peasant wants to get fuel from a Government depôt, why shouldn't he pay for it? He would have to pay if he went to a shop. Not even in Mr. Keir Hardie's merry England has Government reached the pitch of giving away its property to all comers free of charge. But as regards the necessity for a licence to cut down a man's own trees, the facts are as follows: Within a mile of a Government forest a licence is necessary, but there and there only, the reason being that the wood in these forests was being depleted by thefts, and removed under the pretext that it had been cut in private lands. Outside the mile limit the private owner can cut down his own trees without licence, let, or hindrance, it being always remembered that teak, blackwood, and sandalwood, valuable and comparatively rare trees, quite unsuitable for fuel, are Government property. Moreover, the inhabitants of neighbouring villages are permitted to gather dead wood for fuel free of charge in Government forests, and are allowed, also free of charge, to lop the branches of trees in specific parts of those forests in certain regions where it is customary to use wood-ash for manure.

Then on p. 106 Mr. Keir Hardie writes: "*It is a monstrous thing that an Indian, no matter what his qualifications, who has not been able to visit London to pass his I.C.S. Examination should have nothing higher than a deputy collectorship or sub-district judgeship to look forward to.*"

It is a monstrous thing that Mr. Keir Hardie should insist on making sweeping assertions without regard to qualifying circumstances. It is not necessary for Indians

to have passed the I.C.S. Examination in London to enable them to reach the bench of the various High and Chief Courts in India or the various Advocate-Generalships. Moreover, certain posts for many years reserved for the Indian Civil Service have been thrown open to the Provincial Services—for example, two collectorships and two District judgeships in the Bombay Presidency, and four District judgeships in the United Provinces.

On p. 115 Mr. Keir Hardie writes : "*For all India the liquor revenue has gone up from £1,561,000 in 1874 to £6,000,000 in 1906. That state of things in a nation where the use of intoxicating liquors is condemned by all forms of religion is very serious.*"

If the writer's figures are accurate the increase in the revenue is no doubt very considerable, though the total sum in 1906 is less than one-fifth of the revenue raised from excise and licences for the sale of liquor in the British Isles, where the population is less than one-fifth of that of British India—i.e., the British Government gets a revenue from alcohol more than twenty-five times as great as that of the Government of India per head of their respective populations. The increase mentioned by the author is due, *in part*, to the increase in population during the thirty-four years from 1874 to 1908, but *chiefly* to the increased charges levied by Government on liquor distillers, who have recouped themselves by charging more for the liquor they sell.

Now, as Mr. Lloyd George has found during the current financial year, increased cost of liquor is generally accompanied by decreased consumption. Moreover during the past generation the British Indian Government has greatly strengthened its machinery for checking illicit distillation. When the increased cost of licit and the decreased supply of illicit liquor are taken into consideration, the rise in liquor revenue, on which Mr. Keir Hardie lays stress, loses much of its significance. Let me add that in Western India of late years Government has paid—and rightly

paid—increased attention to the wishes of the residents of a locality when deciding whether a liquor shop should be established or maintained there.

On p. 118 Mr. Keir Hardie says: "*The natives of India are thus practically barred from the higher paid positions in their own Civil Service.*"

As a matter of fact, if an Indian succeeds in the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service—and some do so every year—his pay is exactly the same as that of his European fellow-servants. At the present moment a distinguished Hindu has passed up the ladder of the Civil Service to the high office of member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Indeed, in one important respect the Indians are even better off than their European confrères. They are serving in their native country, in a climate and amid surroundings naturally more congenial to them than to Europeans. They have not to suffer separation from home and family, and the heavy expense entailed by sending wife and children to Europe, and by periodically resorting thither themselves for the maintenance or restoration of health.

As a final test of the accuracy of Mr. Keir Hardie's statistics, reference may be made to his p. 101, where the following passage occurs: "*Nowadays it is a rare thing for a Collector to remain longer than three or four years in a district which may be as large as Scotland or Wales, with perhaps ten times the population of either, and then he is moved on to another where he is a total stranger.*"

Now at the census of 1901 the population of Scotland was about 4,500,000. Ten times this number would be 45,000,000; where in all India is there a collectorate—i.e., a District, with a population of 45,000,000? Why, there is only one Indian province, Western Bengal, which is ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor, with so large a population. The maximum population for a collectorate is about 3,000,000, so that Mr. Keir Hardie's fecund fancy has over-stated the maximum merely by 1,500 per cent. This passage may well

be a touchstone for testing the genuineness of many of our author's statistics.

I have had to disagree with so many of Mr. Keir Hardie's statements that it comes as a pleasant surprise when I find one that I can heartily support. It occurs on p. 103, and runs as follows: "*The treatment which is being meted out to Indians in British Colonies, especially in Canada and South Africa, is also a running sore.*"

Apparently matters have been arranged in Canada, but the hardships suffered by Indians in South Africa still continue, and have lately been voiced at a great public meeting in Bombay. In my humble opinion it is a genuine and serious grievance that all loyal and law-abiding Indians in their capacity as British citizens should not be able to go and come, live and die, practise trades and professions, in any part of the British Empire.

I have now, briefly surveyed Mr. Keir Hardie's book, and shall end by stating still more briefly my conclusions. I do not wish to impugn the author's *bona fides*, but I cannot acquit him on the charge of culpable negligence. His book from beginning to end is a diatribe against his fellow-countrymen in India. He can find nothing good in their work in the East. Even where their procedure is *prima facie* harmless or even beneficial, its underlying intention is in his eyes fraught with selfishness. Whenever he draws a comparison between Native Indian and British Indian rule, the contrast is always made to tell against the latter by the simple method of mis-stating, or omitting to state, its best characteristics. It has been said that statistics can be made to prove anything. That is doubly true when they are compiled with such childish inaccuracy as not infrequently vitiates Mr. Keir Hardie's figures and statements. The writer is a man of standing, the late leader of the Independent Labour Party in Parliament. He originally wrote his book in the form of letters to the *Labour Leader*, a newspaper which claims to circulate among the working-classes of this country. It was all the more incumbent on

him to be careful that his statements were fair to all parties, and thoroughly tallied with facts, when his position and his public, most of whom had no first-hand knowledge of India, were considered. Short as Mr. Keir Hardie's time was in India, he might have spent it more profitably than in an attempt to blacken the British-Indian administration on the strength of hearsay and *ex parte* statements. If his book has any influence, it can only be to delay that union of hearts between race and race, so much to be desired in the interests of India and the Empire.

CHINA'S PROGRESS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

To read some of the European and American newspapers, whether central or colonial, one would occasionally think that China was still at heart an obstinate and inert mass, merely masquerading at intermittent progress and reform, and doing her best cynically to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the various missionary sects and mercantile interests now, as ever, working so unselfishly for China's good. But there are comparatively few individuals left of the old conservative days of the sixties, whether missionaries or merchants, Consular or Customs officials; and even those who survive have either forgotten at home the state of affairs that existed forty years ago, or have stuck to their old work in China itself, and have been insensibly carried on by, and allowed themselves to become identified with, modern improvements and change of thought.

Forty years ago the ruts in the stone streets of Peking were often a foot deep, and neither they nor many of the main sewers had been repaired for perhaps a century or more. The streets (dangerously raised several feet above the sandy side-walks) were "watered" every evening with reeking human sewage. Early in the morning rows of natives made use of the "Imperial River" in front of the chief legations as a public latrine. Of minor streets it is unnecessary to speak. Foreigners going about the busy streets and quiet residential lanes were everywhere assailed with cries of "Ocean devil!", and such a thing as social intercourse between them and the natives of any class was entirely unknown so far as decent family friendships were concerned. No foreign Minister presumed to go about in a sedan-chair, and the Tsung-li Yamên (or old Foreign Board) used to lay little traps in order to humiliate them and make them "lose face." Respectable native women were

never seen in the streets, except, maybe, once a year on the evening of the lantern festival; and if they were Chinese (*i.e.*, not Manchus), they had squeezed and mutilated feet, unless they were of the slave and minor concubine class. All women were ignorant and uneducated. Opium-smoking was rife everywhere, and no pains were taken to conceal it. The main thoroughfares were lit up with groggy wooden lamps, shabby paper doing duty for glass. The police were corrupt, inefficient, and, of course, usually invisible when seriously wanted. Beggars swarmed, and died daily before the eyes of a callous public on and about the well-known marble bridge known to foreigners as the "Beggars' Bridge." Still, Wên-siang, "the last of the Manchus," whilst repelling on general principles nearly all foreign demands, just or unjust, took the trouble to warn the British Minister of the time that "China, when she did begin to move, would some day move faster than foreigners counted upon." Meanwhile the foreign Ministers at Peking were practically automatons and mere figure-heads; case references from the consulates were usually consigned to oblivion after a show of futile argumentary correspondence with "the Yamên," which place was invariably visited by diplomats on horseback and in informal attire. The Catholics, true, had asserted themselves ostentatiously as a result of the allied war of 1858-1860; their cathedral, originally built there as a spontaneous act of grace by the Emperor K'ang-hi, now imposed itself as an eyesore and an insult, and offensively overlooked the boy-Emperor's palace grounds. One of the Emperors, indeed, had built a hideous blank wall alongside of it in order to snub the priests, and to spoil their "ancient lights," so to speak. Getting to Peking from Tientsin was then a fearful business, and usually took four or five days by boat, up a muddy river running through a flat and tedious country; or one might hire ponies or donkeys, and, using native inns, do the journey by land in three or even two days. The P. & O. steamers took

fifty-seven days to reach Shanghai from Southampton, and you had to change at Alexandria, travel by dusty train to Suez, change again at Galle (Ceylon), and finally change at Hong Kong for Shanghai, whence a small steamer took you in four or five days to Tientsin. Peking was thus, at least, nine weeks from England, and the Russian overland route by *talega* was rough in the extreme. Yet, even with all this discomfort, travellers spoke proudly and pityingly of the great progress over those times (then only a few years back), when most of the ocean travel and the tea-shipping was done by schooners and clippers. The *Erl King* steamer with a cargo of tea in 1866 was looked upon as a startling novelty.

There were few places in the provinces where European life was tolerable outside of a treaty port. At Canton people shouted "Foreign devil!" at you as offensively as at Peking. Hu Nan was so hostile a province that scarcely a missionary ventured to show the tip of his nose there. Even in Kiang Si, the pioneers of the China Inland Mission wore a hunted hare sort of look when they came back to the treaty port for a spell of quiet, in order to feed up and to give fresh tone to their irritated nerves. It was difficult for any foreign official, even the highest, to gain admission at the central gate of a *yamên*; and, as at Peking (or, rather, much worse), he was exposed to various petty insults and humiliations. The main point need not be further laboured. The general attitude throughout the Empire was hostile, jealous, corrupt, and disagreeable. There was no thought of reform in any direction; in 1877 the first railway—laid down, it is true, more by stratagem than authority—was superciliously pulled up, and (almost literally) pitched into the sea. Corea was absolutely unknown, except to a few devoted French missionaries, who skulked about in impenetrable hiding-places disguised as gentry in deep mourning. Tonquin was almost equally unknown; missionaries had scarcely touched Mongolia; Turkestan was in the hands of the Atalik Ghazi. Even

the Russians knew next to nothing about Manchuria, the Chinese policy having long been to keep both Mongolia and Manchuria as near buffer wastes as possible. Loochoo, Tonquin, and Corea all still sent regular dutiful missions to Peking. The Yangtsze River above Hankow was scarcely known, except for Blakiston's charming narrative. Siam and Burma had already fallen off, yet China still managed to assert a certain *quantum* of theoretical suzerainty.

But now the magician's wand has, as it were, been waved before the wilfully blind eyes of the nation, and the effect within the past ten years has been extraordinary. It is difficult for anyone to say precisely what specific cause produced what specific effect. Certainly the yielding of Russia on the Ili question in 1880 rather stiffened China's back than otherwise, and hardened her heart. It was not *that*. Perhaps the Franco-Chinese *imbroglio* of 1884 was the first drastic pill to work actively upon the Celestial system. At all events, it was now clearly seen that telegraphs were indispensable for safety, and China was accordingly soon covered with a network of them. Then came the international cock-pit in Corea, the rude British advance into Burma, the attempt of the Marquess Tsêng to prove that China had already awakened. Still China drifted, and there was no real progress; on the contrary, things looked blacker for the missionaries than ever, and the Central Government had decidedly scored in the matter of the Opium Convention with England in 1885. Meanwhile the Siberian Railway was quietly started, without much fuss, a few years later. This was a *Weltereigniss* indeed, if a disguised one. The Japanese War of 1894-1895 profoundly stirred the Chinese mind in all the provinces: the political humiliation was as deep as the financial *débâcle* was crushing. The unwise action of France, Germany, and Russia, however, simply had the effect of hardening Pharaoh's heart again, just when it was beginning to soften under the just constraint of Japan. Germany's overbearing and over-reaching act in 1897 produced a further general feeling of

paralyzed hopelessness, and the imminent "division of the pumpkin" by the Powers was almost welcomed in weary official circles as a relief in prospect. Official China was now truly sick at heart. But the people had actually begun to move. The "Boxer" rising was really what it called itself—to wit, a "patriotic movement." The defenceless worm was at last actually turning under the iron heel of the unfeeling conqueror; and, cynically brutal that hydra-headed conqueror undoubtedly was when he got to Peking, though it must be confessed that, however serious his own provocations of them had been, he had himself received from the half-insane Chinese very recent and exasperating provocation. Once more China was hopelessly crushed, and, had it not been for the mutual jealousies of the Powers, she might at this stage have been easily crushed entirely out of political existence. The Russian Samson, to a certain extent, wheedled on by the interested arts of the German Delilah, soon loomed formidably upon the scene. Mr. Putnam Weale in his first and best book has clearly shown how narrowly Russia here missed winning a huge "pot" for herself, and how rashly and intemperately she, notwithstanding, threw away her best cards. Germany, of course, was waiting on the fence, ready to jump with the strongest in any direction, so long as that direction was profitable to herself. How few there were, when the Russo-Japanese War began, who really believed that the Japanese would win, and, in any case, could give their reasons for believing it! It has been the greatest Chinese event during the 250 years of Manchu rule. The conquest of Turkestan 150 years ago is the only one which can even remotely compare with it in importance. Then China successfully fought a political duel—albeit an indirect one—with Russia. This time it was so ordained by Fate that the much-despised Japan should fight the much-dreaded giant on China's behalf. Never was a *tertius gaudens* able to look on so comfortably or from such a safe standpoint as China, for whose benefit the Powers kept the ring, not allowing her, as she sat in her

private box, to receive so much as a scratch from the bruisers in the arena. The event is not only important for China; it has shaken the whole Oriental world, and indirectly, perhaps, accounts for the eclipse of Abdul Hamid and Muhammed Ali. The white man is no longer invulnerable; personal rights and political liberties belong no longer to the white man alone. In a word, if the writer were asked, "What is the true key that has opened the Chinese mind?"—in his opinion, the true key or moving spring to all this intricate machinery, which now works so noisily and often so aimlessly before our eyes, is the opening by Russia of the Siberian Railway route to the Far East.

Now let us see what China has really accomplished in the matter of reform. In the first place, the seeds of constitutionalism have taken vigorous and ineradicable root in every accessible province: the only doubtful or hesitating ones are Yün Nan, in the remote south-west, and Kan Suh (including the "New Territory," or *Sin Kiang*, which practically means Turkestan), in the remote north-west. The reason for a halting and almost meticulous reflection in these two quarters is that the popular representation question is seriously complicated by the fact that the populations in those regions are scarcely half Chinese, even in dress; not to say that in both cases the Mussulman religion is professed by a majority in some tracts, by a large and influential minority in others. In fact, the difficulty is much the same as that we ourselves have encountered in Northern and North-Western India, where the Mussulman minority demands a separate representation, quite apart from the Hindus, with whom they do not like to coalesce. But that a genuine Chinese constitution is rapidly brewing there can be no doubt. As a first tangible step thereto, the provincial councils in each province, or at least in the majority of provinces, were formally inaugurated on the first day of the Chinese ninth moon (October 14, 1909), and it is quite decided that a certain number of the elected representatives sitting in these twenty or more provincial councils will be

eligible also for the Lower House of the Central Parliament at Peking, the Upper House of which will consist of Manchu and Mongol Princes, the highest civil and military offices of state (Chinese or other), and so on. The native newspapers are full of endless discussions as to how many chambers there shall be, and where; how the metropolitan and provincial members shall be elected; what qualifies as an elector; how the metropolis shall have town councils of its own: all kindred subjects are well thrashed out. In short, the constitutional spirit has caught on to such a degree, and so universally, that retreat, or even reaction, is wellnigh impossible. China is definitely committed. Happily, neither the dynasty, nor the Government, nor the people are "constitutionally" (in a double sense) inclined to rush things; the mistakes of the early Russian *Dumas* and of the Persian *Medjlisses* are being carefully avoided; there is a level-headed disposition all round to go slowly, but go surely; and even the most hot-headed portions of the Press are given every reasonable allowance of rope before any attempt is made by the Government in self-defence to strangle the offenders therewith. With great shrewdness the Government prefers to suffer rather than throw its erring children upon foreign sympathy.

Then as to the anti-opium movement. Who would have believed, when the scheme was first seriously mooted in 1906, that the "corrupt Manchu Government," as we are so fond of calling it, was in deadly earnest, and, being in earnest, that, with all its own past record for corruption and humbug, it could really enlist the sympathies of the oft-deceived Chinese people; finally, that it was possible, granting both these hard postulates, to work a change in the popular habits so drastic as the destruction of the century-old opium-smoking depravity within ten years? And yet China has already marched nearly halfway to her goal. There may be bad faith in some provinces, prefectures, or districts; but on the whole it is impossible for anyone who carefully studies the foreign press in China—and more

especially (if he can manage it) the native—to deny that an unexpected zeal and good faith is being manifested on all sides ; that the very agriculturists, who were supposed to be ready to revolt at such a summary inroad upon their pockets, are displaying a wonderful capacity for adapting themselves to new conditions ; and that a genuine patriotic desire to have done once for all with this paralyzing evil has taken firm possession of all right-minded persons in the Empire. It will be remembered that, about seventy years ago, Commissioner Lin, of Canton, had already once (with the aid of the British Trade Superintendent) collected all the opium he could lay his hands on, and had utterly destroyed it in full view of the public ; he may almost be said to have done it with the nascent, if not the full sympathy of the conscience-stricken British Government. Unfortunately, however, there was a suspicion of bad faith in the arrangements he had made, whilst following up his success, for compensating the importers, who had surrendered their valuable cargoes to him through their own authorities on the distinct understanding that they were to be paid the full value thereof. Thus broke out the so-called Opium War ; and thus it was that, as a sequel, peace was eventually concluded with a war indemnity, but without due thought having been given to China's moral rights. The interested and vicious Chinese elements were only too glad to allow opium to wriggle its way thus unobtrusively to a legal status, whilst the official and mercantile British bodies seem to have thought themselves no longer morally bound to remind hostile, defaulting, and defeated China that the way to salvation was not yet absolutely barred, if they chose to knock at the gate with proper humility. At that date the stoppage of opium would have been comparatively easy, for it was only necessary to throttle and blockade the Canton main, or at the utmost the other coast ports as well, up to Shanghai. But, since then, opium has been cultivated in China to a much greater extent than it has ever been imported from abroad, not to mention that the habit of

smoking has spread over the whole inland Empire as well as the coast; so that the grand national sacrifice which began in 1906 is infinitely vaster in volume than the merely local *auto-da-fé* of 1839. It is as though the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh people suddenly yielded to a great national enthusiasm; firmly resolved to discourage and to abstain gradually from all spirituous liquor; recognized the evil, the waste, and the misery for which it is unquestionably responsible in these isles; and appointed through their parliamentary representatives a fixed date within which the "beverage" should draw in their horns, and by progressive steps cease to batten upon the weakness of their fellow-citizens. Possibly the national conscience may yet be so roused, and perhaps the contemplation of the wonderful national contrition and confession of China may yet have their share in deciding the British people to shake off the dreadful incubus of alcoholism.

Then there is the degrading custom of female foot-binding. It has existed for at least 1,000 years, but, strange to say, there is no positive proof of how it first came into vogue; nor do there seem to be many (if any) intimate allusions to its progress in the various popular novels which treat of family and social life. It is certain that the present Manchu Dynasty was revolted at the spectacle when it first took possession of the Dragon Throne 265 years ago, and that it at once made *bonâ-fide* but vain efforts to put a stop to it; but not a single Manchu or Mongol woman has ever so debauched her "heaven-made" person. There is nothing at all like it in Europe; waist-squeezing—so often compared to it—is mere bagatelle. In Africa the women—and even the men—have many bizarre ways of deforming this or that facial feature or bodily vital organ; but nothing so inartistic, so full of persistent suffering—in a word, so stupid—seems ever to have elsewhere taken possession of the whole "fashionable" part of an entire national sex. It is well known how Mrs. Archibald Little succeeded, by dint of sheer perseverance and womanly sympathy, in interesting

the late Li Hung-chang and the retired Viceroy, Ts'ên Ch'un-hüan (still living), in her campaign. Here, again, it is necessary to read the foreign and native Press in China to be convinced what enormous strides this reform has already made, and what bulk it has attained, and is promising to attain, since she set the ball a-rolling. As in the case of opium, the adhesive scales have at last fallen from the eyes of the Chinese, blinded for so many centuries by conservative prejudice and utter ignorance of anatomy. Mrs. Little, of course, is not the only benign influence responsible for this marvellous change. She may be said to have simply guided the nozzle of the extinguishing hose upon choice or likely spots. The volume of cleansing water conveyed in the pipe of public opinion represents rather the insidious but sure influence of native newspapers, and the gradual spread of sound medical and surgical knowledge. Although in ancient times the Chinese unquestionably had their Æsculapius, their Hippocrates, and their Galen, for some reason or other the vicissitudes of time and conquest have consigned to comparative oblivion any really serviceable knowledge these native worthies may have possessed; and, until the Treaty of Nankin in 1842, Chinese medical ignorance was as universal as it was phenomenal, notwithstanding the occasional or local survival of a few jealously-guarded therapeutic secrets. The only wonder is that the propagation of deformed and spindle-shanked females for 1,000 years has, apparently, in no way affected the vitality of Chinese children in any walk of life. Perhaps the true explanation lies partly in the fact that small-footed women usually belong to the insipid, staid, and "legitimate" class, where "love" has only limited play. After all, there are more loose unions and concubines than "spiritual" wives, more "slaveys" than concubines, and more working women than drones. No statistics are available. Suffice it to say that China is here advancing briskly on a hopeful path.

Next comes the question of the Press. Twenty years

ago it can scarcely be said that there was more than one native newspaper of anything like wide circulation, and even that was published under the protection of a British merchant at Shanghai. There was another Chinese print, having a more foreign appearance, issued from the China Mail office in Hong-Kong; and this had, and still has, a fair circulation in Canton and the south. Of course, both these Chinese dailies were viewed with hostile eyes by the mandarins, whose iniquities they often exposed, besides giving unwelcome publicity to many matters with which the "foolish people" are not supposed to concern themselves. The Central Government affected to ignore their existence as marks of progress. Eight or ten years ago an Italian official in China published an interesting article about the rapid development of the native Press, from which it appeared that, after the above two principal newspapers had gradually worked their silent effect inland for some twenty years, a much wider development was at last taking place; daily sheets were being issued in Peking itself, not to mention such large centres as Hankow, Ningpo, and others. The Chinese masses were now beginning to modify their contemptuous attitude, and to take a greedy interest in the wide world's affairs beyond the pale of their own comparatively narrow and local interests. Missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, began to circulate newspapers and magazines of their own, or, at least, inspired and directed by themselves; great numbers of foreign books were translated and published cheaply, and science was ransacked to give the Chinese at large sound elementary notions upon Nature's laws. Already during the ten years between the Japanese-Chinese War of 1894 and the Japanese-Russian War of 1904 the extension of newspaper influence in China had become so enormous that it was difficult for foreign observers no longer on the spot to keep abreast with it in the mere imagination, not to say by studying it as a whole, at all adequately. At the present moment the message of truth,

or, at all events, the possibilities of truth, may be said to be conveyed daily to every Chinese family in the Empire. Almost every city of importance has its own newspaper; the taste for reading the world's general news has become universal. Some of the sheets are even printed in simple popular language, which is a great departure from the literary purist sentiment so universal all over China. In reference to this point, however, it must be remembered, in condonation of Chinese conservative prejudice, that, even in Greece, there has of recent years been an agitation because one party desired to publish the New Testament in modern Greek, as it is now spoken by the people.

The reforming Chinese Government has, to a certain extent, been placed in an awkward quandary. The appetite for political criticism naturally leads an inexperienced young Press from time to time into awkward indiscretions, and consequently attempts have been made to legislate or to take administrative action against this excessive freedom, this licence of language, violence of denunciation, premature publication of official documents, and so on. But it is vain to suppress newspapers under purely Chinese management so long as it is impossible to get hold of those Chinese editors who ply their trade under the safe protection of the European settlements, and occasionally, perhaps, even under the genuine supervision of Europeans or Japanese. The Regent seems disposed to take rather a broad view. He is reported to have recently said that it is better to let the people know and say too much than not enough; that a too harassing suppression and interference will inevitably throw their sympathies with foreigners, and thus against the Government; that China is now irrevocably resolved to have a Constitution, a Parliament, provincial councils, and local councils; and that, under these circumstances, a free, outspoken Press is indispensable in order to familiarize future electors with the exact nature of their responsibilities and prospective political duties. Meanwhile, the *cacoëthes scribendi* in itself, apart from any patriotic zeal, has received

a mighty impetus; the appetite has increased with the feeding. Just as all Chinamen are heaven-born cooks, so all educated Chinamen seem to be heaven-born essayists, lampoonists, polemics, and critics.

However that may be, return to the old habits of ignorance and seclusion is for ever impossible. The Press, with all its defects, is a mighty and ever-growing fact in Far Eastern development. The Chinese—whose intellectual power, man for man, class for class, is quite equal to ours—have always had the capacity to observe, to think, and to compare; but hitherto they have too often lacked the will to do so, where the abstract views of foreign peoples have been concerned; having, moreover, been for centuries trained up to believe that it is dangerous to do so, inasmuch as opinion has been the monopoly of the ruling power so far as public policy is concerned. It may be said that, beyond argumentation, there is little original news even now in a Chinese journal; the scale of literary life is, of course, as low as the scale of economical life. The management cannot afford expensive telegrams from abroad or from distant provinces, and the special installation of foreign correspondents means a prohibitive cost. The solid matter of dailies is confined to official news and gossip from Peking and the nearest provincial capital, or to letters from obliging correspondents in the provinces; foreign news is simply copied from the foreign newspapers. But there is an overwhelming flood of opinion and argument, and apparently it is this part which chiefly satisfies the appetite of those millions inland, who have a vague idea that good times are coming, and who never get a chance of seeing "progress" and "civilization" with their own eyes at Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, or Hong-Kong. Life in the humble home has now become less tedious. The universal use of kerosene lamps has added 25 per cent. to the length of the average sentient day, and has made reading easy at all times. The Chinese mind is becoming thoroughly leavened; it has, in a word, acquired that "expansion" which Sir Harry

Parkes on his arrival in China in 1885 said, in his first public speech, that it needed.

Some progress, but not much, has been made in the direction of assimilating Manchus and Chinese. The Manchu ruling foreign caste, including all its branches, does not number 1 per cent. of the 400,000,000 of population. It consists chiefly of "military" pensioners, absorbing at least one-tenth of the provincial revenues received at Peking. A few Tartar garrisons excluded, all effete, there are no Manchus except (pensioned and organized) at or near Peking and Mukden, and (mostly unorganized) scattered over Manchuria as hunters, fishers, and farmers, *not* drawing pensions. The Manchu language and old military discipline are practically dead; the organized Manchus differ little externally from the Peking Chinese; and there is really little now left to justify their further existence as a privileged exclusive caste except the fact that the ruling dynasty is in fact pure Manchu; hence there is equally little to justify the continued existence of this alien dynasty, except that it hangs on by vested right and sheer habit, and that there is just now no available or acceptable Chinese family of distinction ready and willing to take its place. Complete fusion of political and social interests is therefore the most obvious way of continuing a useful "habit," for the creation of a new habit could only be achieved through decades of bloodshed. This Manchu question is too intricate to discuss fully here; the writer has examined it thoroughly in his published books. Suffice it to say that some preliminary steps, at least, have already been taken in the direction of providing the Manchu parasite class with means of earning a living in lieu of these lazy military pensions; of allowing them to migrate from Peking; of permitting mixed marriages, and so on. But the problem bristles with difficulties at every turn, and over-haste might suddenly land the dynasty, and as a sequel the Empire, in a serious mess.

In finance the Chinese Government has not yet justified

itself ; the old rule-of-thumb methods still run their course, and although the recent establishment of well-managed Government banks has done something toward minimizing the wasteful system of remittances backwards and forwards in bullion logs, still, mandarin provincial interests of countless kinds are too strong to be dislodged in a hurry, even supposing that corrupt private interests at Peking could be sufficiently counteracted, by really honest statesmen there, to bring genuine pressure to bear upon the satraps. Moreover, the satraps practically tolerate the dynasty on the tacit understanding that the Chinese share plunder with the Manchus. Then each satrap is surrounded by a horde of "waiters," who have either earned by learning or by service (or have purchased for hard cash) the right to secure a future "job," bringing them in pecuniary compensation for years of barren expectancy. Many of these expectants belong to the satrap families, and both the private banking and the public salt industries are inextricably mixed up with private and public savings deposits, investments, pawn-shops, and landed interests. Nothing effective has really been done in finance since the visit to China of Sir James Mackay in 1902. *Likin* flourishes more exasperately than ever ; the currency question grows more and more involved ; the highest officials are perpetually being detected in huge peculations ; and, what is worse, the share they have to give to high Peking personages before they can safely speculate on a vast scale at all seems nearly always to secure for them a comfortable exit into private life with their "pile." Finance is the chief shoal on which the Chinese ship of State is chronically stranded, if not the rock on which that ship is ultimately destined to go to pieces. It is all the more distressing in that it is wellnigh impossible to look round with confidence for disinterested advice and aid, when there is so much economic jealousy and competition between the Powers, and when the land-grabbing events from 1897 onward are borne in mind. China feels that she cannot trust any more aliens

with uncurbed power, and probably she is only too right in so feeling. No able Chinese statesman, however honest, has, so far, shown the least capacity to understand even the elements of State finance; and, what with the rival Western doctrines of Free Trade, Protection, Tariff Reform, etc., it seems hopeless to drive any consistent finance principles into the distracted Chinese head. All she can do is to turn to her numerous foreign advisers before taking any new step, herself winnowing out the chaff as best she can from the advice tendered. Nothing could be more melancholy; nothing could be more sad as a prospect than the welter of Chinese finance.

In the development of a serviceable army China has unmistakably done something of real value. The nucleus gradually formed by Yüan Shih-k'ai (amongst others) during the past ten years is now being extended so as to embrace the hitherto worse than useless provincial riff-raff forces (in any case chiefly existing only on paper). But China does not deceive herself as to the progress she has made; she knows that at the utmost she can only hope to defend herself from sudden attacks other than those of Russia or Japan; and of course it thus becomes a nervous interest of hers to keep these two frontier Powers as hostile to each other as possible; or, anyway, to prevent a too intimate reconciliation. Measures have also been taken to inaugurate a new and efficient navy. Meanwhile the unusual step has been taken of placing both army and navy under the supreme control of Manchu Imperial Princes, which is a very wide departure from the principles of political strategy invariably inculcated by the monarchs of the ruling family during the past 250 years. It probably means that of two risks, the dynasty must choose the lesser. If the Manchus must perish, let it be through the treachery of their own family members, and not through the ambition of Chinese military "pronouncers."

Missionaries unquestionably enjoy better prospects in China than ever they did before, and more especially have

Protestant missionaries earned genuine favour, generally through their medical and educational efforts, and specifically through their magnanimity after the "Boxer" massacres. Dr. Johnson once humorously defined a "lexicographer" as a "harmless drudge." In the early days of Catholic missionary diplomacy, the Chinese had learnt to dread the supposed machinations of foreign religious men. This feeling was as strong as ever, and naturally extended to the Protestants, when, in 1870, Sir Thomas Wade endeavoured to clip the Protestant wings at least so as not to allow suspicions to soar too high in the Chinese imagination. Of late the best mandarins seem to have come to the conclusion that, after all, missionaries are but "harmless drudges," or (to be more polite to them) disinterested workers labouring according to their own unaccountable lights* for the good of the Chinese people. Even the Catholics now do some good educational work—apart from dogmatic teaching;—but, so far, they do not seem to have seriously taken up the medical line at all. Their influence for good is deservedly great in some places, notably at the great Jesuit establishments. The French Catholics all over China seem to have achieved rather better results than the Spaniards or Italians, and to inspire more affection. It must not be supposed that the bulk of Chinese Christians really believe or understand all that they are taught, still less that the learned non-Christian Chinese accept even the possibility of dogmatic truth. But the Chinese mind is constitutionally tolerant, and, moreover (despite their unfortunate experiences with native Catholics during the Franco-Chinese War of 1884-1885), they now seem to see clearly that missionaries as a body are not political Machiavellians, and that they may, as a broad rule, be safely left unmolested so long as they steer clear of politics. Still, for obvious reasons, they do not wish the "habit" of Confucianism, the partial failure of which they frankly recognize,

* See Rev. B. Wolfaston's admirable work on "China's Missionaries," reviewed in this issue.

but which has done such good dynastic service for so many centuries, to perish entirely until some other well-thought-out arrangement can be substituted, in which they themselves can exclusively pull the strings ; they have no desire for even a theoretical heaven in which the ever-active white man still rules the roost. Hence they still place Christian students and official aspirants at a disadvantage, much to the missionary dissatisfaction. But probably this will all come right in time. Prince Itō is said to have once even contemplated the official Christianizing of Japan ; but, after all, Japan seems to have thought Shintoism and Buddhism more amenable. It remains to be seen how China will ultimately decide. If Christianity be meant for all men equally, then China has a right to arrange for her own salvation, and to organize her own national Christian church. On this point, however, Father Wofaston's views should be carefully studied, as they are put with a frankness not usually credited to Jesuits.

THE PARTING OF WARREN HASTINGS AND HIS WIFE.

BY SIR LEWIS TUPPER, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

THE scene below is imaginary, but was suggested by a passage in Sir Alfred Lyall's "Warren Hastings" ("English Men of Action" Series), pp. 164-165. Sir Alfred Lyall explains that Hastings had tendered his resignation, and preferred to await the arrival of his successor rather than leave his colleagues an opportunity of spoiling his work. Sir Alfred continues :

" So Mrs. Hastings sailed alone for England in January, 1784. Her departure was to Hastings a severe affliction. He was miserable at losing her, and his first letters to her after the separation still touch the reader with a magnetic sympathy for the throb of grief with which he gazed after the vanishing ship as it stood out into the open sea from the estuary of the river."

In the last speech of Hastings in the imaginary scene, I have utilized a quotation by Sir Alfred Lyall from the first of the letters.

Hastings left India in February, 1785. He was acquitted by the Lords ten years later. Of course, Mrs. Hastings must have heard, again much later, of the honour paid him in 1813, when, on conclusion of his evidence before the Commons upon the revision of the Company's Charter, "all the members by one simultaneous impulse rose, with their heads uncovered, and stood in silence" till he had passed the door of their Chamber.

He died in 1818, and Mrs. Hastings survived him some years.

SCENE: *On board ship, in the estuary of the Hooghly. Warren Hastings and his wife discovered about to part.*

HASTINGS. Sweet wife! the bitter parting hour has come.

If thou dost go, 'tis living death to me,
If thou dost stay, for thee 'tis death indeed.

Thy pallid cheeks, eyes overbright, and lips
Parted in pain, foretell a speedy doom
If thou buy not from England healing breath,
By leaving love that hath no power to save.

MRS. HASTINGS. Oh, Warren! I would rather stay
and die

Than live and leave thee, did I not believe
Thy living agony if I were dead
Were sharper torture than the passing pain
Of this our parting! 'Tis for thy dear sake
I tear my heart asunder, leaving here
One part to beat within thy breast, and time
Thy never-ceasing thoughts of love and me,
And taking part to cherish every hour
The sweet remembrance of thy love and mine.
Oh, I will live to welcome thee when fame
Shall crown achievement with a nation's praise,
And England ring for what thou didst for her!
What tho' the malice of those wicked men,
Miscalled thy colleagues, clog thine acts of State,
Make governance a daily fray with those
Who most should aid it, and confusions stir
By no strong soul but thine subduable;
What tho' worse slanders loosed by bitterer foes
'Whelm thee hereafter—thou shalt rise unharmed
To greater greatness from adversity.
Oh, may I live to cheer thine honoured age
Triumphant over every calumny!
For thee I bear to part, for thee I'll bear
The weary waste of sad dividing seas
And long, dull days when not thy look nor voice
Nor touch shall soothe my woe in widowhood,
But only this, that I am loved and love,
And in my love I keep my life for thee.

HASTINGS. My colleagues! Aye, it is their
blasphemy
Against all rule of right that tears apart
Thy heart and mine. Would I could sail with thee
In honourable trust of other men
And truce from warfare of the Council-room!
Well dost thou know no honourable man
Could leave the steering of the ship of State
To villainous misguidance. I have prayed
That here be sent some other to command;
But none is named. I must be true and stay.
Yet 'tis not for myself I bid thee go.

'Twere easier far to shirk the present pang
And blindly hope that health may here be thine;
For that too much I love thee. Ah, my wife!
I leave thee for the shore. With straining eyes
I'll follow up the ship that sails with thee,
Silent in sorrow, till the tiniest speck
Dies on the far horizon. Oh, what change
Between that hour and now! But neither time
Nor toil nor use nor anguish shall remove
The pressure of thine image from my heart;
E'en though it seat perpetual torment there,
Still there I'll hold it till far, far from here
I greet again its sweet reality.

[Exit HASTINGS to the pinnace which will take him to the shore.]

BAHAISM: ITS ORIGIN AND CONCEPT—A CULT OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD AND DIVINE UNITY.*

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

It is not only contempt that familiarity breeds. Boredom and ennui apart, however, even a crank must admit that variety is the spice of all life's spices. It picks one up better than a thousand tonics. It is the real and only elixir. Change, too—scenic, but especially climatic—is of all factors the most potential. Physically and morally it has exercised a greater influence on man than any other. It is the igneous energy, the natural potter, which has shaped our plastic human clay within the mould of environment into what form it will. It is not surprising, therefore, that we are apt at times to turn away from the common-places and familiarities of our own Western environment to the novelty of another outside our own. Like the boy who gets an overdose of theology in his youth, we turn away from mailed fists and materialism in disgust. The very fact that we have placed a great slice of space between ourselves and it is in itself refreshing. Distance in such case, composed as it is of the three great elements, unquestionably lends enchantment. With the eagerness of the schoolboy counting the days and even the hours that intervene between himself and the holidays, we anticipate the change. Even when it is to the benighted East, which we look down upon with such truly European hauteur and condescension, as from a totally inaccessible Mont Blanc of unassailable superiority, we are jubilant. However superior this civilization of ours may be, it is certainly a relief, once in a way, to leave behind the dominant militarism and imperialism of Europe's *campus martius*, with its equally

* "The Splendour of God : being extracts from the Sacred Writings of the Bahais." With introduction by Eric Hammond. Wisdom of the East Series. London : John Murray.

dominant materialism and commercialism—to say nothing of its vanities and vexations, its envies, jealousies, and rivalries—for that dignity and repose which is one of the chiefest charms of Oriental life. But there is something more than mere refreshment or relief to be found in the environment that we are now about to enter, even though it is the Land of Closed Doors and the mind of its people a closed book to foreigners. If not the bright joyousness that was so essential to the beauty and pleasure-loving Hellenes, there is to be found in the Bahaism of Persia a humanity and a yearning after peace analogous in some ways to the tense longing of the ancient Hebrews for rest, but in a much greater degree human as well as Divine. For while the Hebrew element was in a sense merely exclusive and curtailed by national limitations, this of Bahaism aims at embracing the universal brotherhood of man along with the unity of the Divine. It is essentially a cult that recognizes a common humanity. Knowing what we do of Persians, their complaisance and unconcern, their utter insouciance and apathy, their Eastern love of ease, the inevitable fatalism with which they accept everything as the will of God, a scheme such as this sounds over-ambitious. But although the influence of place is upon them, in spite, too, of their crass conservatism, consistent with the physical variations of the former, there is an adaptability in the people to accommodate themselves to certain changes. It is in part this influence which explains the success of Bahaism, although, of course, the high principles of the movement and the high character of its leaders account for even still more.

It was first of all in Shiraz that Babism (as Bahaism was first called) came into being—that city of the cypress which lies hidden from view like an old-world brilliant in a luxuriant setting of varying foliage; that city which of all others in the East has a fascination without peer or rival; the city of cherry blossoms and roses, of running water and shade, of gardens and trees, of golden minarets

and blue domes, of poetry and romance, but, above all, of Sadi and Hafiz; the city in which the great Macedonian conqueror satiated his ambition and his Bacchism; where the first Sybilla sang the Incarnation of the Christ; from whence the Magi are said to have set out for Bethlehem; and over which 200 kings have swayed their sceptres. Here, in this city of historical associations, where Sadi, traveller, poet, and Bohemian was born and buried—where he sang with such splendid catholicity, such wide-minded toleration and universal human interest; where he showed such open simplicity and candour, such an utter abhorrence of cant and hypocrisy, such absolute contempt for wealth, such freedom from formality and conventionality, and where he placed so high a value on honesty—here, where this remarkable man revelled with true Oriental abandonment in the joy of living, but remembered also the serious aspect of it, which is never really absent from the mind of a great thinker—another remarkable man, but of a different mould, commenced to preach his great doctrine of human brotherhood and Divine unity.

It was in 1844 that Mirza Ali Mohammed initiated his singularly disinterested and unique career. In his own words, he came “not to destroy but to fulfil,” and was soon known as The Bab—the “Door” or “Foreteller.” Consistent with this principle, he did not uproot the teaching of Mohammed, but urged upon his listeners a thorough and whole-hearted performance of his ordinances; and in the “Bayan,” or “Book of the Bab,” he simply gave a new rendering of much that the prophet had spoken, written and enforced. Believing as firmly in the doctrines of the past as in the possibilities of the future, he was thoroughly sincere in his own beliefs and convictions. In his own mind, there was not even a shadow of doubt that God had chosen him as the forerunner of the prophet who was to come after him. But while the whole world would be open at the feet of his successor, for him Persia alone was the centre of action, to reform and regenerate her

his immediate and ultimate office. His own personal message was to be limited to the needs and requirements of his own time and people. By the severe simplicity of his life, and the sincere earnestness of his teaching, he soon gathered around him a number of disciples. To them the Bab was known as their Father in God. His zealous and affectionate care for them concerned their daily occupations no less than their eternal welfare. To enlarge, but at the same time to consolidate his influence, he formed a group—in which he included himself as “The Point”—of eighteen of his earliest disciples. These he described as “The Nineteen Letters of the Living.” Selecting them with great care, he instructed them as teachers, but especially with regard to the advancement and control of moral and spiritual conduct, which he laboured unceasingly to induce among his countrymen. But he impressed on them with great earnestness that they were always to be in readiness to receive the One about to appear, the One whom God would make manifest, the “Great Teacher,” who would show signs of Divine power, and through whose teaching the Divine unity of mankind would be established.

So unique and exceptional was the personality of the prophet, that he very quickly began to acquire a great and widespread reputation. This was due not alone to the magnetism of his individuality, but to the profound and consistent piety of his character. His spirituality, his contempt for worldly and material things; his masterful grasp of religious and philosophical points; above all, his vast love and understanding of the people and their deepest needs; all these substantiated his position and supported his claim. To “endure all” for the sake of God, their faith and his, was the prayer that was for ever on his lips. With this he encouraged, exhorted, and urged on his followers. They on their part with a spirit of devotion and absolute abnegation of self, not to be surpassed in the annals of any creed, obeyed him in all things. Imprisonment and torture had no terror for them. The confiscation

of all their property was accepted as the will of God, with a calm and cheerful complaisance. Even death was faced with a spirit that was altogether above the care and consideration of this world. Year after year they clung all the more doggedly to the Bab and his doctrine, and laid down their lives by scores and hundreds without fear or flinching.

But unfortunately for Persia and her enervated people, the Bab was not allowed to go his own way. The Mullahs, their eyes green with jealousy and their faces pale with fear, were on the watch. In a moment they were down upon him, and accused him of heresy. Wanting or culpable as many of them were, either in their duties or as examples, they maintained that they were only fighting for prestige and privilege. In reality, however, their action was based on sheer and unadulterated malice. Enthusiasm was not in their line. The Bab and his followers were enthusiasts. They practised what they preached. They not only worked with zeal and ardour, but endured with the courage born of great convictions. Their noble endeavour to establish a deeper, nobler conception of religion was wilfully misinterpreted. But more than anything the Bab's fearless outspokenness and absolute independence rankled in their minds. That he had spoken of God's love right into the hearts of his hearers and of his own accord, that he had counselled them to direct obedience and adoration of God without priestly intervention or clerical approval, was in reality his chiefest offence.

In consequence of this the priesthood, backed up by the Government, charged the prophet and his flock with a cloaked design against the order and religion of the State, of setting up their own will and power in defiance of the Shah-in-Shah and Islam. Persecution quickly followed discourtesy and abuse, and was as quickly succeeded by spoliation and execution. The Bab himself was cast into prison and remained there for four years. But although it was a period of great anxiety he was never idle. To work for his people while life lasted was his chief anxiety. This impelled him

to write them a large number of epistles and exhortations. Then the end came when he was taken out and shot publicly at Tabriz. This was in July, 1850, and was succeeded by a wholesale raid upon his followers. But poverty, sickness, destitution, and complete confiscation of all worldly goods was borne patiently and without complaint. "Over 20,000 of these willingly gave up their property, families, and lives rather than recant their faith." The Bab's own gracious pleadings with his flock had not been made in vain. "Faithful found amid the faithless," they faced their persecutors with an undaunted front. Persecution, as it has always done, when the cause is righteous, failed ignominiously. Instead of crushing the movement it but added fuel to the flame, and this was of so inflammable a nature that it not only spread throughout Persia but to an appreciable extent beyond her boundaries. But more than anything else, it was the addition to its ranks of one particular individual that gave Babism its greatest impetus. Even while still in its infancy the Bab's preachers had travelled far afield. Undeterred then by suspicion or surveillance, they had sown the good seed in many a comforted heart. One, Mirza Hussein Ali, a young aristocrat of about thirty, had heard the word, and soon after joined the Babis. The son of a Vizier and the grandson of a Grand Vizier, he was born in the purple* at Teheran in 1817. His education and surroundings had been so exclusively aristocratic that he knew practically nothing about the profession of the Scribes or the sophistries of Pharisees. Of and belonging to the ruling class, he had neither the opportunity to seek the learning of the schools nor the desire to cope on equal terms with Mullahs or specialists. It was as much out of his power to pose as an ordinary Mullah as the priestly lore was outside the scope of his princely position. Entirely isolated by the inaccessible ring fence of social conventionalities, he had perforce to rely on himself. Cut off from the outside world by for-

* [Or] in a palace.

malities, the inner consciousness of the spiritual was his only resource. This to him was essentially an inspiration from the Divine, and from it he derived not only consolation but strength. Then came the message and teaching of the Bab, and this altogether inspired him with an irresistible enthusiasm. It was not, however, by virtue of his princely lineage or wealth, but by virtue of his moral and spiritual eminence that Mirza Hussein Ali came so rapidly to the front. If one idea imbued him more than another it was that riches were incompatible with the kingdom of heaven. The attainment of this glory was his immediate and ultimate aim. He speedily acquired a position of admiration and reverence among the Babis. His profound devotion to the Bab and his principles, his own gentle and candid character, were quickly appreciated. The Bab's persecution and martyrdom, coupled with the persistent maltreatment of the sect, produced an even closer and deeper confidence in his revelations—resulted, in fact, in the very opposite effect to that intended by his persecutors. In little or no time he passed from the position of a teacher into that of leader.

Like his predecessor, no element of antagonism to rule or ruler found place in his scheme of regeneration. His sole design was peace—internal, external and universal peace. No seeds of discord were thrown into the political arena. But the rulers and priests of Persia were opposed to it tooth and nail. The persecution which before had been but fierce and fanatical, now became inhumanly cruel. The history of man's inhumanity to man, even to his own kith and kin—"a little more than kin and less than kind"—once more repeated itself with the unerring instinct of a humanity born to err and stray! In less than a year after the Bab's unrighteous murder, a large number of the Babis were sent to prison. Among them was Mirza Hussein Ali. Not only was his wealth appropriated but he was kept in chains. His five family estates, vast and productive, were confiscated by authority. After a while

he and his own select circle of friends were exiled to Baghdad ; but undaunted as ever he continued to work and to teach. The intense spirituality of his nature, inspired all the greater affection and devotion among the Babis. His influence increased visibly and in proportion to the intensity of his persecution ; confiscation, imprisonment, and torture only imparted a greater depth and tenacity to the faith. Retiring to the mountains in the vicinity of the city, Hussein Ali passed his time in solitary prayer and meditation. There he dwelt alone for two whole years in silent communion with God. Then, feeling that his hour had come, that God had called him, he declared himself, but only to a few of the elect—at a time of great distress and anxiety—as the “manifestation of God.” Five years afterwards, however—in 1863—he publicly proclaimed himself to be the Baha’u’llah, or “The One Foretold.” Thus was the prophecy of the Bab fulfilled, thirteen years after he had been laid to rest.

Baha’u’llah was at once acknowledged by the great majority of the Babis as of Divine origin, and assumed the leadership of the entire movement, which ever since then has been known by the name of Bahais ; but the Mullahs, who had never relaxed their vindictive opposition, were now more active than ever. This assumption of the Divine was altogether too much for them. It inspired them with fear and uneasiness—uneasiness as to their present comforts, and fear for the self-interests of the future. No time was lost in appealing to the Sublime Porte. In answer to their petition, the leaders of the Bahais, some seventy all told, were summoned to Constantinople. These of course included Baha’u’llah and his most intimate friends, known as “the faithful few.” Banished first of all to Adrianople, they were soon after deported from there to Acca, a penal colony north of Mount Carmel, much dreaded for its inaccessibility and pestilential climate. For the first two years they were confined to two rooms in the town barracks. Accused as murderers and thieves, and branded

as nihilists, these God-fearing, God-seeking lovers of peace were treated worse than dogs. All freedom was denied to them ; their hardships and sufferings were unusually severe. Many died, including a brother of Baha'u'llah's. In face of all these cruelties, however, they conducted themselves with a courtesy and gentleness that never once failed ; on the contrary, that in the end prevailed even over their gaoler. With later years, indeed, a most welcome extension of privileges was granted, and the Prophet was free to move about within a radius of eighteen miles.

Never for a moment, however, did Baha'u'llah relax his efforts. Not for one moment did he despair. In the very teeth of persecution he taught and laboured on, always full of hope that God would not forsake him. Even forty years of captivity in a strange land did not lessen his ardour or his zeal. The splendid catholicity of his motive—to establish peace and religious unity throughout the world—always remained the same. The constancy and steadfastness of his own character made him faithful to his object. True to himself and to God, he was true to others. By word of mouth and pen he prepared men for the reception of his beautiful doctrine. He was constantly employed writing tablets in explanation of the why and wherefore of it to friends and inquirers both at home and abroad. In addition to this treatises of instruction fell from his fluent pen. One of these tablets is deserving of special notice. Written when he was at Adrianople, it was addressed to the Pope and monarchs of Europe, urging on them to abandon injustice, to abolish warlike practices and armaments, and in place of them to establish arbitration and unity. The time, however, was no less ripe then than it was when the Czar, some forty years later, made a somewhat similar proposal, but prompted by a very different spirit from that of Baha'u'llah. Even to outline the smallest iota of what he did and wrote would here be impossible. His captivity did not diminish, but increased, his influence. His practice, no less sincere than his preaching, was, in truth, the real secret

of his success. His humanity was as profound as it was exalted. Full of love for God, he was equally full of love for man. The spiritual unification of the race was his great aim. Comprehensive and absorbing, as wide as it was deep, his love for humanity embraced all sorts and sects, all kinds and degrees of men. Race and colour were no bar to it. Even the inevitable obstacle of creed made no difference to him. His humanity was above all such petty and insignificant distinctions. The man was still a man, despite that he was a Jew, a Christian, an idolator, or an infidel. The brotherhood of man in his eyes was a real and a human thing. On the grounds of a common humanity it was practicable. Powerful and magnetic in his own personality, he inspired his followers with the same righteous zeal to be up and doing. Consistent with the noble example that he set them, Bahais to this day employ perfect amity towards all alike. His toleration of outside creeds is unfailingly broad and consistent. Towards one another, even when of differing faith, their attitude at once assumes an extraordinary transformation. Men of one creed grasp the hands of those belonging to another. Religious fraternity experienced in the heart becomes visibly manifest in the life. The head follows where the heart leads. In Professor Granville Brown's opinion "this faith does not expend itself in beautiful and unfruitful theories, but has a vital and effective power to mould life towards the very highest ideal of human character." This is high praise, but Mr. Sydney Sprague gives us even a deeper insight into its intensely practical yet strikingly sublime character. "This spirit of love and service to fellow-men," he says, "was exemplified in an Indian Bahai actually giving his life to save mine, and 'greater love hath no man than this.'" Such heroism is after all but consistent with the very essence and teaching of the Bab and Baha'u'llah, for love and the living flame of love is the shining sun of Bahaism, unity its very being. To gather men of all creeds and nations into one fold was Baha'u'llah's constant endeavour. As he saw it, the

religion of God is above all for love and union ; human brotherhood its natural sequence. It is only men who mar it by their brutal discord and dissension. Firmness and constancy to the Divine commands can alone insure its attainment. Men must hold to truth and reality. Like the delusive desert mirage, illusions are but vain and mocking shadows. In the universal brotherhood of his kind man will find the glory and splendour of God. For the station of the true man is the greatest and highest of all. No man's religion should be ridiculed or opposed. On the contrary, he must be urged to be that which his religion, at its best and fullest—at the instant of its initiation—bade him to be.

Permeated and impelled by these beautiful conceptions, Baha'u'llah constantly advocated that the sword replaced by the word should be set aside for ever, inculcated the settlement of national differences by arbitration, enjoined the acquirement of an universal language, insisted on practical charity, practical goodwill, and kindness to all, including the lower animal kingdom. To the very end, following in the footsteps of his great precursor, he built no church made with hands, and was utterly opposed to the priesthood. On these broad and expansive lines he continued to practise and to preach, and remained mentally vigorous until 1892. Then, finally, when he was seventy-five, Baha'u'llah was not, for God took him. The end came, the end of all his sorrows and sufferings, to his hard toils and strenuous efforts, to the great love and humanity of his noble life. Yet not the end, for his spirit not only lives on in the great movement that he did so much to foster and to cherish, but in the person of his son and successor, Abdul Baha, "The Servant of God." Now known as Abbas Effendi, he was specially educated and moulded by his father to become the centre of Bahaism.

Born, curiously enough, on the very day (May 24, 1844) on which the Bab commenced his career, he has always been a firm and cheerful believer in his message, and in

the divinity of his revered father. To him Baha'u'llah was not merely the father in the flesh, but the Lord in the spirit. Thoroughly sincere and in earnest, he believes also in himself as "The Chosen One," and assumed the burdensome yoke and heavy duties of God's servant imposed on him by his father. Yet he does not in any way deal either in signs or miracles, nor does he make the slightest pretence to do so. Although gifted with healing powers to no small extent—the result chiefly of education and experience in suffering—he firmly deprecates any imputation of the supernatural. The profound conviction that East and West will eventually be brought together in the divine unity, through Bahaism, has spurred him on in all his efforts. The sweetness yet active force of personality in Abbas Effendi reaches as near to perfection as it is possible. The same love and veneration that he showed to his father is shown to him by his daughters. He is their Lord as well as their father. The atmosphere of his house is one of love, peace, and unity. A monogamist himself, he counsels monogamy in others, advocates the emancipation of woman, and the equal education of girls and boys. Among other requirements that are obligatory according to the sacred ordinance of Bahaism, industry, practical thrift, cleanliness of mind and body, and personal action towards universal brotherhood are expected of all.

Men of various nationalities who have met Abbas Effendi have been deeply impressed with the beauty and power of his character, but especially with the peculiar charm of his magnetism. Those who approach him are so completely inspired by the Divine immanence that they are impelled to imitate him in accepting its dictates. They are proud, and rightly so, of intimate acquaintance with him, and speak of him in the most enthusiastic terms as a living personification of the practice in ordinary life of the highest, yet most lovable, qualities. In himself, his every-day life and actions, in his speech and manner, he is a living object-lesson to the world. In his own person he is the very

incarnation and embodiment of Bahaism as a creed of great ideals crystallized by the purifying fires of constant practice. His life is his lesson. He urges men to be true to that aspect of the highest which appeals to them. He points out that the core of every creed is truth, or seed sown by God. The one impossible word, as the guiding principle of his own belief, is "intolerance." Liberty and light, not for one more than another, but for all, is his heart's desire. He deals with conflicting opinions and rituals with an intelligence that is keen and a perception which is spiritual. His insight into the minds of others is all the more penetrating because of his immense sympathy. His generosity to foes and friends alike is unstinted. To his own people, in spite of a troubled and laborious life, his devotion has increased rather than slackened. Always under espionage, frequently suspected by political and priestly enemies, his quiet and patient courage has disarmed his spies, and his tenacious forgivableness has made even his suspects foolish. Through every misfortune, through misapprehension, misrepresentation, and persecution, he has never once been false to his great ideal. Not for one moment has he turned aside from his greater purpose. Forty years a prisoner at Acca, he long since became a marked man and a familiar figure there. Notwithstanding this, he is an object of the most sincere regard, and even reverence. Honourable and just to a degree, he has so disarmed prejudice that even his gaolers have become his friends. Courteous, dignified, and kindly, his personality captivates and, indeed, commands respect. Tested by that severest criterion of all, prolonged intimacy, Abbas Effendi has never been found wanting. His sincerity is above suspicion. Suffering has all the more purified and strengthened him. Known as, and entitled, "His Highness, the Master," he prefers to be called "The Servant," and holds himself in daily readiness to serve. The peculiar fitness of this description is, in fact, proved and recognized by his constant and faithful service to man. Even advancing

age makes no difference to him. Like the bold and beautiful Cleopatra, age does not wither him, nor custom stale his infinite variety. Defying it, he works on in an ever-vernal spirit of hope and love. As it was to his two great predecessors, it is to him a labour of pure love. With him, as with them, it is purely a question of personality—of acting up to his convictions. And he has borne the grievous burden with the same great wisdom and courage. That such men and such a movement has originated and spread in Persia—to such an extent, in fact, as to claim a third of its population—is food, and suggestive food, for reflection. To think that an effete and worn-out civilization like that of the once great Persia is still capable of producing such moral and spiritual greatness is enough surely to make one pause and consider. Yet it is nothing either new or strange. The recuperative power is greater in some entities as in some localities. If we study Persian history, but first of all its geography—as being the conceiver and producer of all things—if we recognize that the race owes as much to its environment as history does to the race, we shall come as near to the all-absorbing truth of reality as is possible. True, this land of many mighty monarchs and dynasties has had her day, but it is likely that in her, as in the old war-horse, there is still some life left. This apart, also the fact that reaction, as the law of human existence to a very great extent, is always inevitable, the climatic variety of the country is indicative of variation in the people. It is probable, therefore, that Bahaism is as much the result of these variations as it is of a much-needed reaction.

In any case, it is not in the least surprising that a historic city, which gave birth to so great and poetic a humanist as Sadi, should produce, only six hundred years later, an even still more serious humanist in Mirza Ali Mohammed; for the prophet is, so to speak, but the spiritual incarnation of the poet. The philosophy of the Bab is but the spiritual aspect of the human Sadi.

To turn from our Western materialism into a world such

as this is surely a change indeed. Not, however, as from the frying-pan into the fire, but from the dust and ashes of the furnace into the rarer atmosphere of the eternal snows ; from the dead sea-level of self-interests to the moral disinterestedness of the highest Himalayas. Be this as it may, here in this benighted East, that we profess to take so deep a moral interest in, but about which we know so little, we have before us a cult, the study of which is certainly worth our care and attention. Not alone as an object lesson, that we might well learn from and imitate, but as a firm and tangible basis, as a real human starting-point, for the promotion of a better understanding between East and West. Better still, for the furtherance of that human fellowship which alone can ever justify our brazen and superficial civilization. That alone can raise it from its present sordid level of tense selfishness up to the sublimer pinnacle of universal brotherhood and divine unity. Here, then, ready-made for us, is a factor, the utility of which is no less beautiful than its beauty is practical. Here is an end that awaits the encouragement and stimulus, the hearty assistance of every man, woman, and child on the face of the earth, irrespective of race, creed, or colour.

For not the first time in the history of the world the East has given the West a lead. This is not by any means the first star or constellation that has arisen in the East. But what of that? Is it not all the more reason that we who pride ourselves on our vigour and initiative should accept the position with becoming grace? Should it not be all the more an incentive to us to join hands with the Bahais to promote the welfare of a common humanity. It is not the first time in her history that Great Britain has had to follow in the wake of others. Let us trust that it will not be the last. To follow is one of the true criterions of greatness. Let us hope that on this occasion, as she has done on others, Great Britain will hold out a helping hand to the leader and disciples of a cult which is so nobly striving for the great cause of humanity.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, November 4, 1909, a paper was read by Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee, I.C.S., on "The Need and Methods of Industrial Development in India." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. Mohomad Shafi, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. W. A. Chambers, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, Mr. M. T. Kaverbhoy, Mrs. E. Rosher, Mrs. White, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. G. Owen Dunn, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mr. S. D. Bhabha, Mr. R. Nandi, Mr. A. Chatterton, Mr. N. N. Bose, Mr. K. C. Banerjee, Mr. P. Sinha, Miss Beck, Miss Annie A. Smith, Commander Heath, R.N., Mr. B. Singha, Mr. P. Ramsay Kent, Miss Kent, Mr. Handel Gear, Mr. J. Walsh, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you by any remarks of mine at present, but I will merely introduce to you Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who has been good enough, during his holiday-time in this country, to prepare a paper which he will now read to the Society. (Applause.)

Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee then read his paper on "The Need and Methods of Industrial Development in India."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you long with any remarks of mine, as I think it would be far more interesting to hear the views of those amongst the audience here who would wish to make their own remarks and criticize or agree, it may be, with the points of view that have been put before us in this interesting paper of Mr. Chatterjee's. I am sure I am very grateful to Mr. Chatterjee for the pains he has taken to compile a paper of this character, which must have caused him a good deal of trouble. In that paper he has given a very suitable survey of the industries of India, and also he has indicated by what methods he would develop them. At the outset of his remarks I gathered he rather would develop the ethics of labour. He quoted Professor Marshall as to what is required or what qualities are engendered amongst those who live in towns as contrasted with the country. That is a very recondite subject to enter into; but I understand that the main object of this paper is to put before us the necessity of not relying so much upon agricultural industries of India, as by increasing the number of other industries by which people can obtain a livelihood.

I do not think I quite agree with the remark he made very shortly after the commencement of the paper, in which he said, "The national revenues in India are on a very precarious basis." I should not have thought that was quite accurate. I should think the finances of India are as sound as those of any European country. (Hear, hear.) Of course you are liable to deficient rain-supply or some plague that may visit the herds and flocks, and so on; but on the whole, I should think if you take a number of years you would find that the financial resources of India are quite as sound as, if not more sound than, those of other countries which rely upon other industries. Still, I quite agree that it is necessary in these days to develop other sources of supply, for one reason, because the desire to live under better conditions of life is increasing in India as it has done in other countries, and that can only be done by improving your methods, whether of cultivation or of other industries. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Chatterjee, I think, in his comparison as to whether it is better first of all to promote the industries or to give educational facilities. I think he said he would go *pari passu* and develop both simultaneously. I should have thought it was rather the other way, that you ought to increase the number of people first of all, who are capable of taking part in the industries once they are started. Of course it is a very nice and delicate point. As a matter of fact, I should have thought that supply and demand go in India, as in any other country, hand in hand; but I do think that in India undoubtedly, where education has been backward and is still backward, there is a necessity for having the greater number of those who cannot merely stand by a machine and see it work, but who are also able to take the initiative in developing machine power. There is one remark—I think it is on p. 10 of the paper—where Mr. Chatterjee says: "Moreover, machinery performs the more fatiguing and monotonous part of any particular manufacture, leaving the artisan free to devote himself to the parts of the work that are interesting and require skill and judgment in manipulation," and I should be inclined to criticize that statement. I should have said that it was rather the opposite. I should have thought the hand of the worker would always have his whole attention and skill in regard to the work he has in hand. A man who is standing by a machine I should have thought was more of an automaton than a workman, whatever other task he is engaged in. However, that is not a very important point to notice, except I think it shows that the man who is engaged in machinery should be educated in the first instance so as to develop those faculties by which he may improve his own conditions, and not remain by one machine for the whole of his life, but have his powers of observation and general faculties so improved that he may rise from one position to another. (Hear, hear.)

I am glad to see Mr. Owen Dunn here to-night. He is just home from Bombay. He is well acquainted with the Victoria Technical Institute in Bombay and played a very leading part with regard to that Institute, which is perhaps one of the very foremost in India; and I cordially agree with the remarks of Mr. Chatterjee that it is most desirable to multiply Institutes of that character, which can give a thorough education to those who wish to go

into industrial life ; but I deprecate a very great multiplication of small Institutes scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country which will not give a thorough education to those who perhaps enter Institutes to take up a life for which they are not thoroughly qualified, and when they go into the world to try and find posts they will not be given to them because they have not been thoroughly equipped and educated. That was my experience in Bombay. I went about the country and found several of these small so-called Technical Institutes did not give at all a satisfactory education to students, which would be of any benefit to them in the practical working world. Mr. Chatterjee says that in Madras they have gone in for a Director of Industry. I confess that if I had been Governor out there I should have deprecated any such step. I do not believe in Government officials interfering more than is necessary in the life of this world. (Laughter.) As regards the Government, of course education comes under the Government's province, if not to supervise, at all events to originate ; but when it comes to the Government appointing a Director of Industry—I may be wrong—I have considerable feelings of alarm. I cannot fall in with the view expressed that it is desirable that the State should take up industries. Mr. Chatterjee, very kindly to the State, assumes that when the State has started an industry and finds it going on well, it will hand it over to private enterprise. I should like to hear of any State in the world that has ever done such a thing. You may be quite assured that when the State runs an industry it is monopolistic, and simply will not allow any competition whatsoever. You have the Indian railways, which now try to have a more elastic policy ; but they have practically killed private enterprise. And then, as regards telephones—why, a Rajah may not even put up a telephone in his State. They kill all enterprise. What has been the retarding action on telephones in the country ? It is simply due to the State. Either they are monopolistic, or, if they do things on the cheap, then they are practically always liable to corruption ; and if they merely supervise as a judge between one person conducting one industry and one another, I should always be afraid equally of some form of corruption springing up. I do not believe that any Government in the world, except for its own particular purpose, for making war materials and material of that kind—that is another matter—should step in simply because private enterprise has not stepped in. I believe for the moment it may sound well, but in the long run it will prevent private enterprise from ever coming to the front. Certainly it will retard private enterprise from taking up that branch of industry. Mr. Chatterjee says there is not sufficient capital in India to start new industries, but I should have thought that was very doubtful. I should have thought that there was a great deal of capital lying idle (hear, hear) but not so much as there used to be, because—particularly in Western India—men of wealth have found the benefit of employing their money in profitable concerns ; and we know there are chiefs who run their own railways, and are only too willing to take up any profitable pursuits ; but I fancy it has been a characteristic long prevailing in the country either to turn their ready money into jewellery or hoard it up or waste it in lavish show. That has been the real retarding influence, and due largely in former days

to a lack of security, but that period has gone by, and certainly from what I know of Bombay there is plenty of money and plenty of people with money who, once they see their way to invest it in concerns of profit and of industry, I am sure will do so. (Hear, hear.) I do not propose to stand before you any longer, and I now ask those present if they would like to say anything. (Applause.)

MR. N. N. BOSE, M.A., Lecturer on Hindoo religion, London School of Economics, said he considered very little remained to be said after Mr. Chatterjee's well-thought-out essay. He thought English manufacturers exported many things to India and gained much by their trade. Many students came over from India to study some technical branch of industry, and he asked whether it would not be possible for English manufacturers to give a guarantee to take three or four students as apprentices in their workshops to give the students some opportunity of learning those trades, and he thought another way to educate them would be to build more industrial schools in India. In Bengal jute was the principal product, and he did not think there was any school worth mentioning which taught the jute industry, and jute was exported in its raw state, made up in England; and he was of opinion that if industrial education were given to Indians in Bengal they would try to manufacture jute for themselves. The only point he wished to urge was as to whether English manufacturers could not be prevailed upon to take Indian students as apprentices, and the British public urged to do something in the matter.

MR. K. CHOWDRY said they were much indebted to Mr. Chatterjee for his interesting and useful paper, and his compatriots had ample reasons to thank the East India Association for devoting almost exclusive attention to the cause of industrial development in India. He thought it had been made clear that Indian prosperity could no longer depend on the uncertain nature of its agriculture, and the Industrial Conference mentioned in the paper had done a great deal to bring home the importance of that question. It was a happy sign that the Government had taken up the matter and had started departments to guide the people in their industrial undertakings, and the Agricultural Exhibition, which was the special feature of the recent Indian National Congress, had received every sympathy from the Government. In his opinion the capital which had been absorbed in the Tata Ironworks, mentioned in the paper, would have been more profitably used in smaller industries, such as sugar, tanning, and paper-making. He thought Mr. Chatterjee had rightly pointed out that the mere regeneration of the hand industries would not be of much avail against the fierce competition of factory production. It was not so much the question of what they could produce, but at what price. For instance, if India's cotton fetched a high price in foreign countries, it would pay better to sell it than to utilize it at home. On the other hand, it paid India better to retain jute and manufacture it than to sell it. With regard to the industrial revolution in England between 1780 and 1830, it must be borne in mind that such a thing was hardly possible in India, because it was such a vast country that agriculture could never be wiped out by factories. That industrial education should follow the actual industries, he thought, was more than borne

out by the examples in England, and technical schools were of only recent growth; and he had repeatedly pointed out that the Government could help a great deal in the important work of practical training. He did not think it would be difficult to stipulate that factories in India supplying the Government stores should take a number of recommended apprentices, and the India Office might stipulate the same thing in England. He was glad that Mr. Chatterjee was not altogether opposed to State participation in certain industries. He (Mr. Chowdry) had devoted some little time to this aspect of the question, and thought India was the most brilliant example of State-owned and State-controlled works like the railways, the docks, the harbours, the ammunition and arms factories, etc., and he was inclined to think that the Government would confer extra blessings on many millions of people by not only pioneering but actually working some of the industries under their own control, as it would mean better wages and conditions for thousands of workmen who would otherwise be at the mercy of money-grabbing capitalists. (Applause.)

MR. HAVELL said that Mr. Chatterjee's paper seemed to deal with the question purely from the mercantile point of view and not from the point of view of the State. He disagreed with the assertion that the position of a State in the comity of nations was only to be judged by its economic strength. One nation of Europe, namely, Belgium, had added considerably to its economic strength by methods which Europe disapproved of altogether, and no one would say that we should be justified in applying the methods of the Congo to India in order to increase India's economic strength. He considered Mr. Chatterjee had ignored the relation of ethics to economics, and that relation could not be ignored by any sound economist. The important question, he thought, was whether the methods of nineteenth-century industrialism, in particular the factory system which we introduced into India, did conduce to the intellectual and moral improvement of the people, and that was the point of view the State should take. He agreed with what Lord Lamington had said about the State undertaking commercial enterprises. The State should stand for the ethical principle. The great economical principle of the nineteenth century in Europe was the centralization of industry; the result of pushing that principle too far had been the almost entire destruction of national art and handicraft. The great economical principles of the twentieth century were the decentralization of industry and co-operation, which had already brought about a revival of art and handicraft. He had a great objection to Mr. Chatterjee's distinction between art and industry, and did not think you could separate them in India. Mr. Chatterjee said there was something to be said for handicraft from the sentimental and sanitary point of view, and he (Mr. Havell) did not object to being called sentimental, but he did not think true sentiment neglected the economic side of the question either. (Hear, hear.)

MR. CHATTERTON thought the most important matter they had to consider in dealing with the question of the development of industries was whether the people themselves were anxious to take part in that work or not (hear, hear), for it was impossible there could be any great develop-

ment in India merely through the action of semi-political societies or the Government. At the present time there was the Swadeshi movement, which was slowly gathering strength, but as yet the practical results due to it were of a very insignificant character. One of the most important directions in which action had been taken was to send students to foreign technical schools and colleges to learn the science underlying the technics of various industries. Such training was very incomplete, and as manufacturers would not admit Indian students to their factories, they returned to India without that practical experience which was essential to industrial success. It was therefore a matter of importance to consider what could be done for the constantly increasing stream of students to England, in the way of providing for them greater facilities to obtain knowledge of the commercial as well as the scientific side of manufacturing processes. Without this their subsequent careers in India were bound to be failures. He thought it was a sufficiently important question for the Government of India to deal with. The suggestion that it should be made compulsory for English manufacturers supplying stores to the Government of India to take Indian students in their service was, he thought, an impossible one, and he was certain that the whole of the manufacturing industries of the country would protest against it. If new industries had to be started in India, as a last resource, it would be for Government to find the capital and undertake the work of pioneering those industries. This, however, could only be done on a small scale, and better results were likely to accrue from the adoption of a policy which strenuously fostered co-operative enterprise, and this could best be accomplished by providing in the country competent experts to assist local efforts.

MR. G. OWEN-DUNN said that as the Chairman had been good enough to mention his name in connection with the Bombay Technical Institute, he felt that a few words were due from him, more especially as he noticed in Mr. Chatterjee's paper that he apparently had no knowledge of the existence of such an institute; or, if he had, possibly his opinion of it was not quite as favourable as his own. He had had the honour of being for the past five years the chairman of the Board of that Institute, which had been in existence for upwards of twenty years, and he thought it had been doing most important service to the industrial development of India. (Hear, hear.) It included a large and well equipped mechanical engineering department, which experts had compared favourably with some of the leading technical institutions in England; a complete textile department; and in the last few years a very efficient electrical engineering department had been added, and more recently a chemical section. There were now some 350 students from all parts of India receiving an excellent technical training which would fit them to take their place in the industrial world. The diplomaed students had practically all obtained remunerative employment, and there was one large mill to his knowledge in the Central Provinces which was entirely manned, from the manager downwards, by students from that institution. (Hear, hear.) He thought that was the sort of thing that ought to be established in every province. Mr. Chatterjee had said in his paper that the stumbling-block in the way of educational reform

in India, including technical and industrial instruction, was the want of money, but as an example of what the Indians could do he might say that the Bombay Technical Institute, which was started by that great educationist Lord Reay, owed its existence to a great extent to the liberality of the late Sir Dinshaw Petit, Bart., and the second Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart. The Government assisted largely to maintain the institution, which was supported also by the Bombay Municipality and by the Bombay Mill-owners Association. They had spent large sums recently in improving the equipment, adding to the staff, and building quarters for 200 students, and he looked to the generosity and true patriotism of wealthy Indian gentlemen to establish equally efficient institutions in other parts of the country. (Applause.)

MR. COLDSTREAM said he had listened to Lord Lamington's defence of the position that the Government should not interfere with the promotion of industries at all with great interest, but he thought it right to say that some of those who had had long experience in India felt that there were occasions when the Government might usefully lead the way in the establishment of industries. (Hear, hear.) He did not think a hard and fast rule could be laid down. There were several industries which owed their success to State initiation or aid—for instance, the great tea industries in the north of India, and the silk industry of Cashmere. He said he had just received from India accounts of the preparation for an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition which was about to be opened in Lahore. He had been connected with the first Industry and Art Exhibition at Lahore forty years ago or more, when there were very few Indian gentlemen in the management, but now the whole thing was being run by Indian gentlemen. This was a sign of the times which they welcomed with all their hearts. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON having at this stage to leave, the chair was taken by the DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (Sir Arundel T. Arundel) who said: The time is much too late for the chairman to make any remarks, and I think the best thing I can do now is to ask the lecturer, to whom we are much indebted for his very interesting paper, to give his reply.

MR. CHATTERJEE: Sir, there are very few things I want to speak about just now. Lord Lamington took exception to my remark that the revenues in India were on a precarious basis. I think I did not express myself very clearly. My meaning was that the revenues fluctuated to a great extent from year to year according to the monsoons, and that was at the root of the difficulty which statesmen in India experienced in pushing forward any large scheme involving heavy expenditure. Lord Lamington also took exception to my remark that machinery performed the monotonous part of any particular work, and left the more interesting parts of the work for the artisan. That is a point of view I am afraid there is not time to-night to discuss at any length. I notice that Mr. Havell has found fault with me for giving too much importance to the mercantile aspects of the problem we are discussing to-day, and he said that I had ignored the relation of ethics to economics. I am very sorry that such a charge should be brought against me, but I find on the other hand that Lord Lamington took excep-

tion to my bringing in ethics into the question of economics. (Laughter.) I think in the first two or three pages of the paper I gave much more attention to ethical questions than anything else. When I said the question was whether the wealth of India was increasing as fast as the wealth of other countries of the world, I certainly did not want to suggest that the question of wealth was really the most important question in the world. Certainly an Indian would never say such a thing. (Hear, hear.) Under modern conditions we cannot ignore the question of wealth, and that is why I hope so many of us are assembled here to-night. Lord Lamington also expressed an opinion adverse to the appointment of a Director of Industries. We have among us here this evening the only Director of Industries so far appointed in India, and we have listened to his remarks on this paper. After his remarks you will agree with me that there is entire justification for the appointment, and I hope we shall have others of the same kind. The speakers who have criticized the paper have brought forward all the arguments for and against on the question of State participation in industries. I thoroughly agree with the position taken up by my friend Mr. Chatterton, that State pioneering of industries should be a last resource, but I think as a last resource it ought to be there. As everyone will admit, the difficulties in India are very exceptional, and in very many cases we must adopt exceptional measures. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Owen Dunn from Bombay has accused me of ignorance of the splendid work done by the Bombay Technical Institute. I am afraid the charge did not hurt me very much, because I fully admit that it is the only Technical Institute we have now in India, and my position all along has been that we should have several Technical Institutes. As I pointed out, the State has started provincial experts in agriculture, so we should have provincial experts of industries, and provincial colleges all over India for imparting industrial and technical instruction. Mr. Owen Dunn has suggested that private benefactions should come in. I certainly agree with him, but I do not think the State should always depend on private benefactions. No State in the civilized world does so, except perhaps England, and I think if there are any Tariff Reformers here they will agree that England has been very much behindhand in taking special measures for industrial development. I thank you very much indeed for the kind way in which you have received my paper. (Applause.)

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (in the absence of the Chairman): There is only one remark I should like to be permitted to make. I mentioned it *sotto voce* to Lord Lamington, and perhaps I may mention it to the meeting. Lord Lamington said there was no case he knew of where an industry had been started and made a success by the Government and then handed over by them to private parties, but Mr. Chatterton has given an actual illustration of a case where the Government found the funds necessary to found the aluminium industry mentioned by Mr. Chatterjee in his paper, and after that industry had been made a success of it was relinquished by the Government, and is being run as a company.

I desire to ask the meeting to give a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Chatterjee for his very interesting paper.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, December 7, 1909, a paper was read by Ross Arthur Leslie Moore, Esq., I.C.S., on Mr. Keir Hardie's "India." Sir Arundel T. Arundel in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Lady Elliott, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. S. M. Ahmed, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. Morris, Mr. S. F. Brittain Smith, Mr. Alfred W. Gosden, Mr. J. L. Lalvani, Mr. A. E. Wild, Colonel Paget, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. N. N. Bose, Mr. K. C. Bannerjee, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mrs. Doderet, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. G. P. Coldstream, Mr. Guy de Reval, Dr. Wicksteed, Mr. Robert Sewell, Miss Barron, Miss Norbury, Miss Sinclair Hind, Colonel S. Little, Rev. W. Hind, Mrs. Hind, Mr. J. H. Advani, Dr. Codrington, Mr. K. Chowdry, Mrs. Stead, Rev. G. A. Herklots, Mr. P. L. Moore, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Annie A. Smith, Mr. H. Osman Newland, Mrs. Rosher, Mr. J. Walsh, Mr. P. S. Shahani, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Major Twynam, Mrs. Twynam, Mr. E. Catling Smith, Mr. E. Roberts, Mr. Edward Palmer, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Palmer, Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. Thomas Landers, Mrs. White, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Commander Heath, R.N., Mr. James Chisholm, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, with all due respect to the audience here, may I say I am very sorry to find myself in the chair this evening. I do not think it is an occasion on which a man whose life has been spent as an official in India, and who is bound, to a great extent, to defend the administration, should be in the chair when there is to be strong adverse criticism on a book relating to the work and conditions and administration generally of the British Government in India, and on the author thereof. Sir Grant Burls, I am sorry to say, is unable to come. We have endeavoured to get a Member of Parliament who would take a perfectly independent view of the subject for discussion, but it has not been possible.

With regard to the subject of the lecture, may I say that I do not think any of us desire in the smallest degree to make a personal attack on the character of Mr. Keir Hardie. (Hear, Hear.) I want to lay that down as a sort of basis. He may have been misled, or have taken a prejudiced view, but that does not at all interfere with the fact that he desired to put before the British public what he had ascertained, or thought he had ascertained, to be facts relating to India. I had hoped that Mr. Keir Hardie would have been here this evening. He cannot be here, but the gentleman who accompanied him in India is here, and I understand that he will

be able to make some remarks with regard to the lecture. As regards myself, if I had not been in the chair, I should have been prepared to make some comments in support of the lecturer; but, as it is, I should prefer to do nothing of the sort, but to be, if I can, an impartial chairman. For this reason I do not wish to say anything whatever myself to accentuate the criticisms which the lecturer will probably make with regard to Mr. Keir Hardie's book. I will now call upon Mr. Moore to read his paper.

Mr. Moore then read his paper.

MR. THORBURN said that he did not propose to throw more stones at Mr. Keir Hardie, but to do him justice. He thought that the East India Association, in having a lecture upon Mr. Keir Hardie's book, had taken him too seriously, and he thought the effect of the discussion would be to give the book a very good advertisement. Although Mr. Keir Hardie was inaccurate when he dealt with figures, it was not his personality so much as his political environment that was responsible for it. He was a follower of three remarkable leaders, a sort of triumvirate, whose speeches were the joy of their breakfast-tables every morning. The lecturer had begun his paper by complaining that Mr. Keir Hardie had had the audacity to publish a book upon India after a stay of only two months in the country. He (the speaker) thought Mr. Keir Hardie deserved congratulation for having had the courage to go to India at all, and to have wandered about there, in the Gangetic delta too, in the most malarious month of the year. That he had published a book, and had made the book pay, and sold it well, was an achievement which he doubted if any one of those present would ever accomplish. Surely it was better to go to a country and write a book upon it than to write a book upon it without ever having been there at all, as many people did. He would remind them that the immortal historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" never visited ancient Rome at all; in fact, he described and criticized events some fifteen hundred years after they had occurred! Before judging Mr. Keir Hardie he thought they should consider his qualifications. For instance, being wholly ignorant of his subject when he landed in India, he ought to have had an unbiassed mind when he began what ought to have been his search after truth. As a fact, however, he had anything but a blank mind. On the other hand, he had some disqualifications. Educationally his equipment was miserably poor, and one required some education to sift facts and to write on problems of government. Further, owing to his political environment he was very much handicapped. He went out to India predetermined to find fault with everything British in that country. (No, no.) He went out to India with that intention, and whilst there he associated with Indian gentlemen who were, in a sense, against the Government, and with a few English officials who were, in a stronger sense, against Mr. Keir Hardie and all his nostrums. If they weighed those qualifications, his (Mr. Thorburn's) opinion was that Mr. Keir Hardie's indictment of the Government was both modest and moderate. If he might venture to go into the domain of natural history, and make a comparison between Mr. Keir Hardie and a very illustrious man whose speeches were read by everyone daily—a man who is practically the

guiding spirit of the present Government—he would say that Mr. Keir Hardie's statements were as the bleatings of the baa-lamb, whereas the speeches of his great contemporary were like the ragings of a mad tiger. (Laughter.) His (Mr. Thorburn's) acquaintance with Mr. Keir Hardie's book was small, but it was probably as large as most of them. Mr. Pennington had let him see a copy because he (Mr. Thorburn) had declined to spend a shilling on the book himself. He had read the first fifty or sixty lines with close attention, and discovering there two serious misrepresentations of fact and one erroneous generalization, he had only sampled the rest of the volume. Mr. Keir Hardie's wanderings up to Dacca had impressed him with his courage, because he was evidently fever-proof. His account of Benares, with its bathings and burnings, adds a pretty picture. Then, towards the end of the book, came a chapter which Mr. Moore had omitted to notice, which was really the most interesting and informing in the book—that was, if the statements were true. Mr. Keir Hardie described home-rule in those two model States, Baroda and Mysore, and he made it appear that in them there was “government by the people, for the people, through the representatives of the people.” All he could say was that if that were the case, they might reasonably hope that Lord Morley's reforms would have a happy issue. Now, turning to Mr. Moore's paper, he (Mr. Thorburn) would offer one or two comments upon it. The first was in connection with the curious metaphor, “the soaking drain.” He thought Mr. Moore might have admitted, in some particulars, that there was a drain upon India. All moneys earned in India and spent out of India were, to a certain extent, a drain upon the country. Then, too, some twenty or thirty millions sterling had been spent on wars which, in his opinion, were wholly unjustifiable—for instance, our Afghan Wars. In that direction the interest on war-loans was a drain. Where Mr. Moore stated that the Government share of the rent in the Punjab was “nominally about half the net produce, though actually less,” he really overstated the amount, as “half net assets” was the maximum revenue rate, and the actual average share of the gross produce which the Government took in the Punjab was about one-tenth. Then with regard to Mr. Keir Hardie's remark that the magistrate, who was head of the police, tried cases. What he meant was that it was necessary that the judicial branch should be separated from the executive branch of the service. He (Mr. Thorburn) believed that the separation had been begun in Bengal, and would be proceeded with as funds became available. The change would considerably increase the cost of the administration.

MR. K. CHOWDRY said that he was very much surprised indeed that the chairman had allowed the last speaker to indulge in gross personalities about Mr. Hardie, which were most objectionable. Without answering the criticisms which the last speaker had raised, he proposed to take Mr. Moore's criticisms. Mr. Moore had given them an excellent criticism on Mr. Keir Hardie's “India,” and it was a great pity that Mr. Keir Hardie was not among them to answer that criticism personally. If the late Mr. Samuel Smith could do India in two months and write an

admirable book on Indian problems which was never challenged, Mr. Keir Hardie was equally justified in writing the book which he had written for the information of the British public in England. Mr. Keir Hardie worked something like eighteen hours a day throughout the whole length and breadth of his tour, and some days he passed without sleep. He tried to get at the facts as far as he was able to do so, not merely from agitators, but from all classes, including peasants. He received deputations from several Indian societies, Hindoos and Mahommedans, with a view to ascertaining the real condition of the people. Mr. Samuel Smith's excellent chapters on Indian problems seemed to him to be the origin of all the recent political reform in India, and he believed that if the Labour Party came into power, Mr. Keir Hardie's book would be the model of reforms they would undertake in India. (Laughter.)

Coming to the subject-matter of Mr. Moore's criticism of Mr. Keir Hardie's book, Mr. Keir Hardie's remark that the Government is showing special favour to the Moslems was more than borne out by recent facts. There was the authority of no less persons than ex-Justice Mitra, Sir P. Chatterjee, and even the Moslem leader, Mr. Ali Iman, who spoke at this hall on the very subject not long ago, that the Government were anxious to show some special favour to the Mahommedans, probably because they kept aloof from political agitation. These favours have now culminated in granting special electorates in connection with Lord Morley's reforms. The Hindoos do not grudge these favours, but they do deprecate the policy of "divide and rule." No one would deny that British capital had been a boon to the country, and had provided employment for thousands of Indians; but the fact remained that the enormous difference between exports and imports represented a real drain to the country, which could not be avoided unless the Indians invested their own money themselves. (Hear, hear.) The strangest point in Mr. Keir Hardie's book was the statement that the cultivator paid in taxes not less than 75 per cent. Mr. Keir Hardie would, he hoped, correct that in the next edition of his book. He had travelled with Mr. Keir Hardie, and he could assure them that there was not a single intentional misstatement. A certain deputation which waited upon him produced figures to show that that was the case in that particular district suffering from partial failure of crops. At the same time, the collector of the district ought to have made it his business to remit the revenue in proportion to the shortage of crop. In Mr. Samuel Smith's book, he said that the Government demand was actually 50 per cent., according to the opinions of certain Indians, and those figures had never been challenged, so that Mr. Keir Hardie's informers were only wrong by 25 per cent. With regard to Mr. Keir Hardie's statement that the partition was against the wishes of the Indian people, what he really meant was the educated Indian population. That was a mere slip of the pen. With regard to the chapter on Native States, if one read it as *certain* States, instead of *each* State, was under an obligation to maintain certain military forces, which were at the disposal of the British authorities, that little discrepancy disappeared. With regard to the chapter on plague, he wished to quote again from Mr. Samuel's Smith's book. He said

on p. 198: "Lord Curzon estimates the average income at £2 per head, and that of the agricultural population—viz., 80 per cent. of the whole—at Rs. 20, or £1 6s. 8d. per head." According to Sir Robert Giffin, our best statistician, the aggregate income of the United Kingdom is £1,600,000,000, or £37 per head, in 1902, which might have increased to £40 now. Mr. Keir Hardie had not actually said that poverty had caused the plague, but he meant that the peasants were not able to resist an attack of plague, whereas the people who were well-housed and well-fed had greater powers of resistance. He agreed with Mr. Moore that wealth was very unevenly distributed in India, and he believed that the poor peasants were not prospering in the same proportion as the professional men or merchants. Facts were not wanting to support Mr. Keir Hardie's contention that the best posts in India are reserved for the civilians. Here and there there was an Indian deputy collector or two promoted to the ranks of district collectors on two-thirds pay; but there were hundreds of posts which could be filled by natives, and which were at present reserved for members of the heaven-born service—I mean the Indian Civil Service. With regard to the natives of India being practically barred from the higher-paid posts, he thought Mr. Keir Hardie had proved his case by quoting Mr. Gokhale, and I refer the audience to his chapter on the subject. Mr. Keir Hardie had, all along, taken a stand as a champion of the Indians, and he tried to put the case from a native point of view, just as he had presented his case in the House of Commons for the working man. His book—"India"—is the case for the prosecution, and the British democracy should pass judgment after hearing what the officials and ex-officials in London had to say in defence.

MR. NASARVANJI MANECKJI COOPER said that he had not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Keir Hardie, but he thought that some of the remarks which had been made by Mr. Thorburn should not pass unnoticed. He had said that Mr. Keir Hardie's educational qualifications were very poor. To say that of the educational qualifications of the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons was monstrous. It was a slur on the intelligence of the British electors who had elected Mr. Keir Hardie and sent him to the House of Commons to represent them. (A voice: "They will not do it again.") Then Mr. Moore had said, also, that the Parsees were not so poor as the Hindoos; the plague had affected also the Parsees. The reply to that was, as had been proved by eminent European doctors, that people who did not get sufficient nourishment were more liable to be affected by plague than those who got proper nourishment. How was it that the English people in England were scarcely ever affected by plague? It was not right to say that all Parsees were rich; there were poor Parsees, and he knew from personal experience, as a Parsee, that the majority of those who had the plague were poor. It was a fact that want of nourishment and poverty were one of the reasons for the plague, if not the only reason. Then Mr. Moore had suggested that the industries of India ought to be developed. How were they going to develop them? The only important industry in the Bombay Presidency was the manufacture of cotton goods. How was the Government assisting them in that industry

by putting an excise duty on to home manufactured goods? That was the policy of the British Government in India, which had been denounced by very many eminent Anglo-Indians as a slur upon the Government of India. It was done simply to defend their own countrymen, the Lancashire people; to take care of them the poor Indians must be crushed. Then Mr. Moore had referred to Indians coming to this country to pass I.C.S. examinations. With regard to that, of course it was a great inconvenience for poor Indians to come to this country for that purpose. The majority of the Indians were poor, and it was well known that those who were rich did not care to enter the service.

MR. PALMER said he did not propose to say anything with regard to the lecturer's remarks on Mr. Keir Hardie's book in which he had disagreed with him, but he wished to say a few words with regard to those points on which the lecturer had agreed with him. He was speaking as an Anglo-Indian. He was descended from Englishmen and from Indians, and he was proud of his descent. He wished to say that it had been a great source of pain to the Indians and Anglo-Indians that, because of the colour of their skins, they were practically barred from getting their livelihood in other parts outside India. Were they not intelligent creatures like the Englishmen? Why should they be shut out? why should they be put on a lower grade? Surely the English knew in their hearts they were doing wrong. Why were they barred from South and East Africa, where they could develop the country as well as the Englishmen could? They were not wanting in intelligence. They were not wanting in their will to do hard manual work. Although he was an educated man himself, if necessary he would take the pick and dig the ground to earn his livelihood. (Hear, hear.) Some years ago he had to go to India and stay there for some time, and found himself running short of money. He went to a Scotchman and asked him for work, but the Scotchman said, "I have no work to give you." He replied that he had seen work advertised in digging roads, and he said he did not mind doing that sort of work, but he did not get it. He appealed to them to do their best to remove that obstacle which lay in the path of Indians, and allow them to go as free men and as British subjects to earn their livelihood outside India, and not restrict them to India where the population was increasing by leaps and bounds. And such restriction meant serious trouble. They were obliged to come to England to get into the higher Government berths, but Government berths were not everything; there were means of earning their livelihood outside them. Did gentlemen in this country, as a rule, desire their sons to go into Government berths? On the contrary, they sent them into the City where better livings were earned. They wanted their own people in India to develop India with either their own resources or with foreign capital so that there would be plenty of work. With regard to the spread of the plague, although poverty invariably was a source of spreading disease, the point had been overlooked that the lack of sanitary conditions and unhealthy surroundings was also largely responsible for it. With improved hygienic conditions a better state of affairs would exist, and the people must be taught this, for even the better classes were wanting in such knowledge.

MR. J. B. PENNINGTON, referring to Mr. Chowdry's remark that Mr. Keir Hardie would correct any mistakes he had made in the book in a subsequent edition, said that immediately he read the statement about the 75 per cent. going to the Government, he wrote to Mr. Keir Hardie correcting that statement, but he never had any explanation or apology for the mistake.

MR. CHOWDRY said that Mr. Keir Hardie had been too busy.

MR. PENNINGTON, continuing, said that there was a good deal of complaint that there was no possibility of getting into the Government Service, but the Government Service had been open to competition for forty years, and it was not true to say that the Indians could not get into it.

MR. MORRIS said there were two schools of thought with regard to the spread of the plague—one was that it was caused by communication, and the other that it was owing to poverty. In 1872 there was an outbreak of plague in a very populous village in his district. News came that all the people of the village had died and the village was left empty. The then sanitary Commissioner was sent to report on it, and he found, when he got there, in one house was one girl, aged twelve, and two children, who had been there for ten days by themselves. They were the only inhabitants of the village. All the rest had died or gone away. He was in that district for some years afterwards, and there was no other case of plague throughout the whole district. There was another outbreak which he remembered, though not so well, where it was restricted to the hill villages, where the conditions were so insanitary that one could not wonder at the plague. Sometimes they would see that the death-rate in the Punjab was nearly as good as in some seaside towns in England, but the conditions were such that the villages got more and more polluted, and the forces of evil multiplied in the villages, and then came a time when there was an outburst and the people were swept away; it was like a volcano. When he first knew the City of Agra, in the year 1853, very few of the English people would go through the town on account of the condition of the atmosphere.

MR. J. CHISHOLM, speaking as an Englishman resident in Canada, said that although they respected the Indians and gave them credit for equal intelligence and equal power of working and making their way in the world the same as Europeans, they must realize the very great danger, which was not understood or appreciated in England, of two competitive nationalities working together in a sparsely populated country. It did not matter if a thousand or two thousand or ten thousand of a foreign nationality came to England, because they would be lost among the crowd, but they must bear in mind that it was very different on the western shore of Canada—for instance, in British Columbia—which was the only part of Canada where the question arose. The same applied to Australia. It was not that they wanted to exclude the Indians, but they wanted to avoid difficulties which would arise in future. With regard to Australia and Canada there was no invidious selection against Indians, because the Canadians stopped Englishmen, if they did not think them suitable immigrants, coming into the country, just as they would object to men of any other nationality. It

was the same with the Australians; they would not have immigrants who were not suitable. They wanted to fill up these new countries with only the best specimens that they could find.

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL thought that the criticism of Mr. Keir Hardie, though it was correct in regard to points of detail, was beside the mark, for the reason that Mr. Keir Hardie went out to India to judge Indian feeling, and he had represented Indian feeling to the public of England. That feeling might be right or wrong, but if that feeling was to be corrected it would have to be corrected in India and not in England. (Hear, hear.) What the British democracy demanded was to know the truth about India; not the truth as it was presented in official records; not the truth as a mathematician or an arithmetician would apprehend it, but the truth as the man in India felt it. They were an impressionist race, and there was such a thing as an impressionist school of art growing into prominence at the present moment, and Mr. Keir Hardie's book was an impressionist book; it was not a collection of statistics. He had laid the feelings of the people of India before the people of England. With regard to the feelings of Mahommedans about partition, Mr. Keir Hardie had said that the whole population were practically against this measure of Lord Curzon's, and, in another place, he had said the mass were in favour of it. So he had contradicted himself. But what was the history of it? At first, Hindus and Mahommedans were all equally opposed to the partition of their province. It was only after Lord Curzon's visit to Dacca that turned the Nabob of Dacca from an oppositionist to a supporter of partition, and brought about the subsequent change of Mahommedan feeling.

MR. MOORE, in reply to the criticisms on his paper, dealing first with the point as to the "soaking drain," said that, according to a statement in the *Economist* of February 20, 1909, the chief investments of British capital abroad were as follows: United States, £485,000,000; India, £470,000,000; South Africa, £407,000,000; Australia, £321,000,000; Canada, £305,000,000; and the Argentine Republic, £254,000,000. At p. 3 of the Railway Administration Report of the Government of India for 1908, it was stated that the total capital invested in Indian railways was £309,000,000, and in the Government of India's review of Indian irrigation during 1907-1908 the capital outlay on Government irrigation works is stated at about £33,000,000. In the year 1907-1908 the receipts, after payment of all working expenses on the railways and interest on borrowed capital, showed a net profit of £1,563,002, and similarly for canals the net profit was £646,475. Thus a large amount of the British capital invested in India was applied by the Government of India to the reduction of taxation, as, for instance, the reduction of the salt tax, which was Rs. 2.8 annas in 1902-1903, and had been reduced by 40 per cent. at the present time to R. 1.8 annas. In 1907-1908 the total area in India irrigated by Government canals was 22,000,000 acres. That was a tremendous protection against famine. The value of the crops raised on these 22,000,000 acres in that year was £40,000,000, although the total outlay on making the canals was only about £33,000,000.

Then, with regard to the Bombay Revenue administration, Mr. Keir

Hardie had clearly stated on page 3 of his book that in the Province of Bombay the peasants had to pay a fixed sum to the Government, whether the crop be good or bad. The figures in the Bombay Revenue return for 1907-1908 were as follows: The total amount due to the Government was 397 lakhs of rupees; out of that 91 lakhs were suspended and 24 lakhs were remitted—that is to say, nearly 30 per cent. was either suspended or remitted. It would be in their recollection that 1907-1908 was not a famine year, though it was a year of poor harvest.

With regard to the remarks which had been made by some of the speakers that poverty was the real cause of the spread of plague, what Mr. Keir Hardie said was that the plague was now continuing in a manner unknown, and he believed the cause to be the poverty of the people. He was trying to show that the poverty of the people of India had been increased by the action of the British Government in India, which he thus made out to be responsible for the spread of plague. Mr. Cooper had said there were many poor Parsees, but he thought Mr. Cooper would agree with him that, although there were a number of poor Parsees, there were very few who were so poor as to lack proper sustenance.

With regard to the Native States, there were two very prosperous Native States—namely, Mysore and Baroda. He was not acquainted with Mysore; but he had been informed that since the beginning of the plague, Mysore had been plague-stricken every year. He was Collector of Surat in 1897 in the early days of the plague. Plague broke out in Baroda, which was one of the richest parts of India—the garden of India—a native state not subject to the “soaking drain” of the British Government—at the same time and as severely as in Surat. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal had said that Mr. Keir Hardie had represented the feeling of Indians to the British democracy, and added that the British democracy wanted to know the truth about India. What he maintained was that the truth about India was exactly what Mr. Keir Hardie had not shown to the British democracy. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman having also been proposed by COLONEL PITCHER was carried with acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

NOTE.—If I could have imagined that anyone would say that Mr. Keir Hardie would be glad to correct any mistakes I might have come prepared with proofs to the contrary. All I can do now is to publish the following letter sent to Mr. Keir Hardie on June 15 last, to which I believe I had no reply at all:

“3, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,

“June 15, 1909.

“DEAR SIR,—

“I see that on page 2 of your little volume just published, you repeat the statement, to which I took exception when you first made it publicly last year—namely, that ‘the amount of taxes raised *direct from the*

peasant is from 50 to 65 per cent. of the value of the land, in addition to which they have to pay local cesses and various other small items, so that probably not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest goes in taxes.' I conclude, therefore, that you must have some authority for this extraordinary statement (though you were 'too busy' a year ago to refer me to it); and as I don't wish to say anything which may misrepresent you in any way, and am just now trying to tell 'the truth about the Land Revenue of India,' I should be very much obliged if you would indicate in some way how you arrived at these percentages.

"You have no doubt observed that, according to your figures, the gross produce of all India cannot be more than £40,000,000 (the Land Revenue being taken as £20,000,000), and yet a great deal more than that is exported every year. What, then, do the people live on? As our paper on the Land Revenue is already in print (since published as Leaflet No. 8), I should be still further obliged by an early reply. From what I have seen and heard of you I am sure you are not the man to say *knowingly* what is not true even about the 'opposition': all I want to get at is your authority.

"Yours truly,

"(Signed) J. B. PENNINGTON.

"N.B.—If the Government of India took even 50 per cent. of the gross produce, the Land Revenue would be nearer £200,000,000 than £20,000,000."

WHAT SHOULD BE INDIA'S FUTURE LINE OF EDUCATION ON WESTERN METHODS?

THE following interesting communication to the East India Association from the Maharajah of Burdwan is published at the request of His Highness :

“ To every Englishman in this country the question must now naturally arise, What sort of education does India need at the present moment? Since the days of Macaulay the progress of English education in this country has been, to say the least, marvellous. But has that education been penetrating or not? is a question that must strike every thinker. We have any amount of B.A.'s and M.A.'s all over the country, and they are the productions of English education. We have any amount of frothy platform speakers whose command over the English language, at first glance, seems to be wonderful. We have open preachers of sedition who are demanding that liberty, equality, and fraternity to which the English have shown us the way. We have a few misguided youths disturbing the peace of the country, mutilating the holy traditions of the East by committing anarchy and crime absolutely new to us, and borrowed from that West from which we are in these days only too eager to copy almost everything. Then we have a large number of the student community who have forgotten entirely the old sacred laws of showing respect to their parents and superiors. When we have all these, we cannot help turning round to the Englishman and asking the question, ‘ Who taught our boys these things?’ No Englishman can deny that this is the result, to a great extent, of English education in this country. If this be so, the question naturally arises, Has the Western education imparted to Indian boys so far been a success? The reply must sound rather melancholy, because, I certainly think, in a good many things it has been a failure.

Whilst, on one hand, it has taught us Indians to have a taste for everything Western, particularly Western politics ; whilst it has opened for us several branches of education which were in former days unknown to us Indians, it has, on the other hand, sowed discontent amongst us—a discontent for which, however much we might be inclined to blame the people, we must not overlook the excessive zeal of the alien race which rules over us, and which alone is morally responsible for the present state of unrest in India. The folly of breaking down the traditions of a country where civilization flourished long before the West knew what civilization meant, or of teaching politics to the Oriental on Western lines entirely, is a lesson that English and Indians themselves have yet got to learn. The discontent that now exists is only a forerunner of more in store for the rulers, and for those who have been and are being disgusted with the present state of affairs. It is not my intention to give out in this article what to my mind strikes me as being the possible remedies for these defects. I shall await criticism on this paper before I give out my definite views as to the possible and probable remedies of the effects of modern education. It has been said over and over again that discontent exists among a handful of educated men, and that the masses in India are contented, but this state of things cannot go on for ever. The so-called Nationalists, who are so very keen on boycotting everything British, if they were once to realize that, to bring India to that intellectual perfection which many of the Western nations have attained, their attention at the present moment should not be diverted simply to politics—as a matter of fact, very little to politics—but merely towards finding out proper methods of educating the masses in India on national lines, but with so much of Western admixture in it as is absolutely necessary to fit them to be useful subjects of British India. I do not quite agree with those who say that it is ‘a battle of economics between the people and the British Government, and within it lie all the

causes of unrest,' for though a good many of the Indian National Congress Party are always complaining of the drain of India's wealth into Great Britain, they make this complaint like those dyspeptic patients who are more or less hypochondriacs, and who imagine themselves to be ill when they are really not so ; because William Digby, Sir Henry Cotton, and others, have written some erroneous statistics about the so-called drain, these misguided patriots think these economic statements to be absolute Gospel truth. The real cause of unrest is that English education has opened up a lot of branches for Indians to educate themselves in. There is at the present moment a great desire amongst Indians to go in for technical and industrial education, and though the English have given them opportunities to educate themselves in all these multifarious branches, yet, when they do get the education, they find that there are hardly, so to speak, any berths which they could fill, and in which they could reap the benefits of the education that they had acquired. Therefore the solution of unrest will not lie simply in putting Indians on the Executive Councils, or in giving them more seats on the Imperial and Local Councils, but it would lie in the educated Indians getting more berths in all the different lines of education under the Government of India ; and after all, when we come to think of it, any highly intellectual man will become discontented and cranky if he does not get an opportunity of using the intellect that he has cultivated. Why do we have so many agitators ? Because these fellows have not got enough responsibilities on their shoulders. I am sure that if any one of the so-called political agitators in Bengal and elsewhere had a responsible office under Government, he would soon begin to sing a different tune ; for he would then realize that to criticize a subject without having a full knowledge of it is sometimes entirely different from knowing the subject full well, and ascertaining the real responsibilities attached to it. Therefore, one of the lines on which the future educational

propaganda in India should be carried is moral education—to make the educated realize that, whatever the shortcomings of the British Government may be, without doubt it is most just, and the best government possible for India ; and while there must always be political agitators, they should not only agitate on constitutional lines, but see that the rising generation does not grow up to be a band of brainless assassins, but real men, loyal patriots, and useful subjects of His Britannic Majesty the King-Emperor of India. I have written this small article simply to invite opinions as to what should be the duty of the Englishmen in India at the present moment, and on what lines they should go on educating the Indians of the future.”

(Signed) B. C. MAHTAB.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIAN BRANCH OF ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION.

SIR,

In the October number of your *Review* no mention whatever is made of the progress of the Indian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association during the past year. Now this "progress" is a matter of importance, and I therefore write to ask you to do me the favour of inserting this letter in your number for January, and also of taking some notice in future in your Summary of Events of the work done by the Indian Branch.

Leaving out of account the part which I, as Honorary Organizing Commissioner for India of the St. John Ambulance Association, am in duty bound to play, the increased activity which the Indian Branch has displayed during the past year is due in a great measure to two men, Major R. J. Blackham, R.A.M.C., who was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Indian Branch by Viscount Kitchener a year ago, and Mr. Vivian Gabriel, I.C.S., C.V.O., who has been for some years a member of the Indian Branch Committee.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston in March, 1905, deputed Major-General de Brath to confer with me regarding the transfer of the management of the Indian Branch from my sole charge to that of a Committee; and His Excellency, having appointed the Committee, was pleased to accept the post of President of the Indian Branch. The work of that Branch, from April, 1905, to October, 1908, was carried out, in the main, under the auspices of Viscount Kitchener.

On July 16, 1909, for the first time a Viceroy of India

presided at the annual meeting of the Indian Branch Committee. Her Excellency the Countess of Minto, His Excellency Viscount Kitchener, Sir Louis Dane, Sir Harold Stuart, and Sir Trevredyn Wynne, as well as those officers who hold the chief authority over the Medical Services, Educational Department, the Volunteers, the Imperial Service Troops, and the Frontier Corps, were present, and took part in the proceedings.

I do not propose to ask you to give publicity to a long letter detailing all the business transacted at that meeting. Suffice it to say that the spirit in which it was conducted has altered the former lethargic attitude of India towards the Association into one of intelligent and interested activity. General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., K.C.B., was elected to succeed Lord Kitchener as Chairman of the Committee, and an Executive Committee, composed of Sir Trevredyn Wynne (Chairman), the Hon. Mr. A. M. Ker, Mr. V. Gabriel, Major R. J. Blackham, and Colonel Crooke-Lawless (Hon. Sec.) was appointed and empowered to transact all ordinary business.

Both at the meeting of July 16, and subsequently to it, important resolutions have been passed and action thereon taken. The Committee appointed by Lord Curzon included among its Vice-Presidents several heads of provinces, and representatives of the Hindu, Mohammedan, and Parsi classes. In the reconstituted Committee of July 16 it is to be noted that among the Vice-Presidents of the branch not a single Parsi is mentioned. Now, bearing in mind the fact that the Parsi division of the St. John Ambulance Brigade in Bombay was the first division formed in India, and up to the present the only one reported active and efficient, and further bearing in mind the good work done by Parsi medical men, this omission can only be an oversight.

I do not propose to trouble you with further remarks just now, but I think that it would not be without advantage if you were to allow me from time to time to communicate

to your *Review* some information regarding the Indian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association.

I am, etc.,

A. C. YATE (Lieut.-Col.),

Hon. Organizing Commissioner for India of the
St. John Ambulance Association.

BECKBURY HALL, SHIFNAL,
SHROPSHIRE,

December 14, 1909.

P.S.—The *Baluchistan Gazette* of November 20, which I have just received, reports the resuscitation, under the auspices of Sir Henry McMahon and General Sclater, of the Quetta Centre of the Indian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association. In this Centre my brother, Colonel C. E. Yate, took a strong interest when he was Chief Commissioner. The maintenance of a good centre at Quetta is of importance to the Army as well as to civilians.

As your *Review* deals with the Empire, I may add that there is now some prospect of the Canadian Branch being organized on the same lines as the Indian. The visits which were paid to Canada by myself in May, 1905, by Colonel Bowdler later in the year, and by Mr. Vivian Gabriel in 1907, have contributed to this end. Mr. Harold Boulton has made further progress this year.—A. C. Y.

THE NEW COUNCIL OF THE FEDERATED
MALAY STATES.

SIR,

I observe that the *Times* has published from their correspondent at Singapore, dated October 21, the following note on the new Federal Council of the Federated Malay States, viz. :

That the Council is now formed, and it is expected that the first meeting will be held at the beginning of December. "Some minor native chiefs raised objections, fearing the alienation of their powers, but Sir John Anderson succeeded

in removing all the difficulties made. Every chief has signed the necessary treaties. Each Native State is represented on the Council, and special representation has also been arranged for the rubber and tin interests. The Council will deal with matters of general concern to the States. Care has been taken to preserve autonomy of the chiefs in local affairs. It constitutes an important step towards the unification of the Government of the Malay States, which has been rendered necessary by their increased European population, and by the great amount of British and foreign capital now employed in the country."

This, sir, is but the direct sequel or corollary of the paper that you permitted me to publish in your last issue, entitled "The British Treaty with Siam" (*vide* pp. 377-379).

It will be remembered that in 1895 a treaty was signed by the four Native States of Perak, Selangore, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, in which they agreed to constitute their countries a Federation to be known as the "Federated Malay States," and to be administered under the advice of the British Government.

The inclusion now of the Native States of Kelantan, Tringanu, Kedah, and Perlis is nothing more nor less than the simple expansion of this scheme which has been wisely adopted in the Malay Peninsula, whereby these various independent States have been united into one homogeneous whole.

Any hostile element that in previous days may have existed between either one or the other will now disappear, and they will in the future work together as one single State, and without renouncing their individual powers of internal self-government. In point of fact, it is what we understand as a league or union between these Native States for the purpose of maintaining friendship and for promoting their mutual interest, and this will be further supported under the imperial ægis and control of the British Government. All that now remains to be done in the successful progress of the Federation is the judicious action

of the officers entrusted with the administration of affairs in the respective Native States.

I am, etc.,

J. F. A. McNAIR, MAJOR, R.A., C.M.G.

December, 1909.

THE FISCAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER LORD CURZON.

THE expediency of Lord Curzon's taking up the challenge of those who criticized his system of land revenue in India will be clear to all who realize the peculiar difficulties which beset the Government. In countries governed by the primitive system in which the subjects are excluded from all share in the administration, it will be found that there is little or no taxation in the exact sense of the word, but the people pay for this immunity by having their affairs conducted in a slovenly and corrupt manner.

In India alone the Government has undertaken to supply a machinery free from abuse, and furnished with all modern improvements, but it has hitherto had to confront the difficulty of raising adequate funds from an unrepresented community. Hence has arisen the supreme necessity of maintaining the system by which the State, as steward for the public, gathers a moiety of its income from the net profits of the land. Whatever tendency to centralization the Viceroy may have subsequently displayed, he showed in the resolution of January, 1902, that complete uniformity in the details of land revenue could not with propriety be applied to every part of the sub-continent over which he ruled, but in that weighty and ably-reasoned paper he sought to establish for all India the principle here indicated.

Assuming, therefore, that he had demonstrated the necessity of preserving the State's right wherever it had not already been compromised, he arrived at certain definite conclusions which will be found stated in Paragraph 38 of the Resolution. And a candid examination of these propositions plainly proves that they were informed by

sound knowledge of the subject, and by a genuine sympathy for the industrious millions committed to his charge.* The paper, together with the reports of the subordinate Governments, was published in a compact volume of 265 pages, and issued at scarcely more than nominal price from the Government Press in Calcutta. It made no attempt to represent the system as scientifically perfect, making indeed full acknowledgment of the early and even barbaric conditions under which the claim of the State originated, but this very circumstance was adduced as a reason for believing that the practice was agreeable to the traditions and habits of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Facts were also brought forward which showed that the British Government in India had greatly mitigated the apparent rigour of the system ; the rate of assessment had been reduced from ten-elevenths to one-half the net produce, any variation being on the side of deficiency rather than on that of excess.

Further, it was stated that at every periodical revision allowance was to be made for improvements made by the cultivators, that no enhancement was to be made on conjectural developments, and that whenever enhancement proved inevitable, it should be made by progressive increase in future years, and not all at once. In a word, the Government showed a desire to pledge itself to sympathetic treatment of the agriculturists. At the close of the eighteenth century a mistaken benevolence had committed Bengal to a system of landlordism modelled on that which then prevailed in England. This procedure would not be repeated, and the Government undertook to reform existing institutions rather than to import methods which the people did not demand, and principles which they could not understand.†

The ordinary heads of revenue, stamps, customs, liquor excise, and so forth, do not differ in character from similar items in other civilized countries ; but the revenue derived

* In this task he was ably seconded by Sir B. Fuller, at that time a member of his council.

† Details as to the Indian Land Revenue will be found in Mr. Baden-Powell's work, Oxford, 1907, edited by Sir T. W. Holderness, K.C.S.I.

from opium and that from salt required a few words of explanation. That derived from opium, about 4,500,000, was a relief to the Indian taxpayer, being mostly paid by the inhabitants of China, to whom the opium was sold, and, if the Chinese cease to buy the opium, this item will disappear from the Indian budget. The salt revenue, too, is not what it was, Lord Curzon having reduced it by fixing an equalized rate of one rupee per maund, or, in other words, an excise duty of one penny on every five pounds of salt issued to the consumer, entailing a loss of more than £1,000,000 sterling to the income of the State. The salt tax is the only contribution to the public which is obligatory on every individual ; and for this modest contribution the rural peasantry can, if they please, enjoy the benefits of British protection against internal and external foes. But the scanty success of the Swadeshi movement suggests that secondary wants are arising among the people ; for example, the products of their own looms, however durable and strong, are said to be less to the taste of the women in the most remote villages than the cheaper and more showy goods imported from abroad. In like manner utensils of metal are superseding the old pottery of the country ; and recent trade reports show that, in spite of the attempted "boycott," the people continue to demand foreign goods, so that the customs, which had already reached nearly £4,000,000, may be looked to for the recuperation of some of the future deficiencies.

X. Y. Z.

BURMA SOCIETY IN LONDON.

This Society was organized in London some four years ago. Its object is to form all Burmans in England and others interested in the progress of Burma into one body ; also to provide a common meeting-place in London for members of the Society, and to assist with information and advice all Burmans who may be in, or intend to come to, England.

In November last papers were read on various subjects, including "Social Movements in Burma,"* for the guidance of students who are already in England, and a closing meeting was held in the Holborn Restaurant on November 3, Mr. J. E. Bridges in the chair. There was also a banquet, at which various members of the Society delivered interesting and loyal speeches.

For information about this Society and its operations application may be made to the President, Mr. G. J. Colston, 30, Clarendon Court, Maida Vale, London, W.

* See the paper *in extenso* elsewhere in this *Review*.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1909.

[9 EDW. 7. CH. IV.]

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1909. *An Act to amend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and the Government of India Act, 1833.*

[May 25, 1909.]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

Amendment
of constitution
of Legislative
Councils.

1.—(1) The additional members of the councils for the purpose of making laws and regulations (hereinafter referred to as Legislative Councils) of the Governor-General and of the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay, and the members of the Legislative Councils already constituted, or which may hereafter be constituted, of the several Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces, instead of being all nominated by the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor in manner provided by the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, shall include members so nominated and also members elected in accordance with regulations made under this Act, and references in those Acts to the members so nominated and their nomination shall be construed as including references to the members so elected and their election.

(2) The number of additional members or members so nominated and elected, the number of such members required to constitute a quorum, the term of office of such members and the manner of filling up casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted, or otherwise, shall, in the case of each such

24 & 25 Vict.
c. 67.
55 & 56 Vict.
c. 14.

council, be such as may be prescribed by regulations made under this Act : A.D. 1909.

Provided that the aggregate number of members so nominated and elected shall not, in the case of any Legislative Council mentioned in the first column of the First Schedule to this Act, exceed the number specified in the second column of that schedule.

2.—(1) The number of ordinary members of the councils of the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay shall be such number not exceeding four as the Secretary of State in Council may from time to time direct, of whom two at least shall be persons who at the time of their appointment have been in the service of the Crown in India for at least twelve years. Constitution and procedure of Executive Councils of Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay.

(2) If at any meeting of either of such councils there is an equality of votes on any question, the Governor or other person presiding shall have two votes or the casting vote.

3.—(1) It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, by proclamation, to create a council in the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the province, and by such proclamation— Power to constitute provincial executive councils.

(a) to make provision for determining what shall be the number (not exceeding four) and qualifications of the members of the council ; and

(b) to make provision for the appointment of temporary or acting members of the council during the absence of any member from illness or otherwise, and for the procedure to be adopted in case of a difference of opinion between a Lieutenant - Governor and his council, and in the case of equality of votes, and in the case of a Lieutenant-Governor being obliged to absent himself from his council from indisposition or any other cause.

A.D. 1909.

(2) It shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council, with the like approval, by a like proclamation, to create a council in any other province under a Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of assisting the Lieutenant-Governor in the executive government of the province: Provided that before any such proclamation, is made a draft thereof shall be laid before each House of Parliament for not less than sixty days during the session of Parliament, and, if before the expiration of that time an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament against the draft or any part thereof, no further proceedings shall be taken thereon, without prejudice to the making of any new draft.

(3) Where any such proclamation has been made with respect to any province the Lieutenant-Governor may, with the consent of the Governor-General in Council, from time to time make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his council, and any order made or act done in accordance with the rules and orders so made shall be deemed to be an act or order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

(4) Every member of any such council shall be appointed by the Governor-General, with the approval of His Majesty, and shall, as such, be a member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor, in addition to the members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor and elected under the provisions of this Act.

4.—The Governor-General, and the Governors of Fort Saint George and Bombay, and the Lieutenant-Governor of every province respectively shall appoint a member of their respective councils to be Vice-President thereof, and, for the purpose of temporarily holding and executing the office of Governor-General or Governor of Fort Saint George or Bombay and of presiding at meetings of Council in the absence of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, the Vice-President so appointed shall be deemed to be the senior member of Council and the

Appointment
of Vice-
Presidents.

member highest in rank, and the Indian Councils Act, 1861, and sections sixty-two and sixty-three of the Government of India Act, 1833, shall have effect accordingly. A.D. 1909.
3 & 4 Will. 4.
c. 85.

5.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the Indian Councils Act, 1861, the Governor-General in Council, the Governors in Council of Fort Saint George and Bombay respectively, and the Lieutenant-Governor or Lieutenant-Governor in Council of every province, shall make rules authorizing at any meeting of their respective legislative councils the discussion of the annual financial statement of the Governor-General in Council or of their respective local governments, as the case may be, and of any matter of general public interest, and the asking of questions, under such conditions and restrictions as may be prescribed in the rules applicable to the several councils. Power to extend business of Legislative Councils.

(2) Such rules as aforesaid may provide for the appointment of a member of any such council to preside at any such discussion in the place of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, as the case may be, and of any Vice-President.

(3) Rules under this section, where made by a Governor in Council, or by a Lieutenant-Governor, or a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, shall be subject to the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and where made by the Governor-General in Council shall be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to alteration or amendment by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, Governor, or Lieutenant Governor.

6.—The Governor-General in Council shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors, and as to the qualifications for being, and for being nominated or elected, a member of any such council, and as to any other Power to make regulations.

A.D. 1909.

matter for which regulations are authorized to be made under this Act, and also as to the manner in which those regulations are to be carried into effect. Regulations under this section shall not be subject to alteration or amendment by the Legislative Council of the Governor-General.

Laying of
proclama-
tions, etc.,
before
Parliament.

7.—All proclamations, regulations, and rules made under this Act, other than rules made by a Lieutenant-Governor for the more convenient transaction of business in his council, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made.

Short title,
construction,
commence-
ment, and
repeal.
32 & 33 Vict.
c. 98.
33 & 34 Vict.
c. 34.
37 & 38 Vict.
c. 91
4 Edw. 7.
c. 26.

8.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Indian Councils Act, 1909, and shall be construed with the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and those Acts, the Indian Councils Act, 1869, the Indian Councils Act, 1871, the Indian Councils Act, 1874, the Indian Councils Act, 1904, and this Act may be cited together as the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 to 1909.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different purposes and provisions of this Act and for different councils.

On the date appointed for the coming into operation of this Act as respects any Legislative Council, all the nominated members of the council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be renominated or be elected in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(3) The enactments mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent mentioned in the third column of that schedule.

SCHEDULES.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

Section 1.

MAXIMUM NUMBERS OF NOMINATED AND ELECTED MEMBERS OF
LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Legislative Council.	Maximum Number.
Legislative Council of the Governor-General	60
Legislative Council of the Governor of Fort St. George	50
Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam	50
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of the Punjab	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Burma	30
Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of any Province which may hereafter be constituted	30

SECOND SCHEDULE.

Section 8.

ENACTMENTS REPEALED.

Session and Chapter.	Short Title.	Extent of Repeal.
24 & 25 Vict. c. 67.	The Indian Councils Act, 1861.	<p>In section ten the words "not less than six nor more than twelve in number."</p> <p>In section eleven the words "for the term of two years from the date of such nomination."</p> <p>In section fifteen the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present."</p> <p>In section twenty-nine the words "not less than four nor more than eight in number."</p> <p>In section thirty the words "for the term of two years from the date of such nomination."</p> <p>In section thirty-four the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present."</p> <p>In section forty-five the words from "and the power of making laws and regulations" to "shall be present."</p>
55 & 56 Vict. c. 14.	The Indian Councils Act, 1892.	<p>Sections one and two.</p> <p>In section four the words "appointed under the said Act or this Act" and paragraph (2).</p>

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The Army and Navy Chronicle*, October, November, and December, 1909: 111, Jermyn Street, London, W.

It is delightful to receive month by month, through the medium of this influential journal, information regarding the movements and affairs of our army and navy. We cannot give too much praise for the way in which this paper puts into a nutshell, as it were, important and interesting matter. The articles are also very excellent, and too much cannot be said for the very beautiful illustrations which appear on nearly every page. No man, whether he be in the army or navy, or retired from either, should be without this journal, as it will be found to be the means of keeping in touch with all news regarding the service, whether at home or in foreign parts.—G. L.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND
LONDON.

2. *A Wandering Student in the Far East*, by the EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P., with illustrations and a map in two volumes. It is seldom one finds a book bearing such a roving title as this that supplies material for two distinct classes of the reading public. Vol. i. of this work supplies matter of great usefulness to those who take a general interest in records of travel in distant lands, whilst vol. ii. gives the reader an accurate record of the trade and enterprise of the people of Great Britain in foreign countries. To both classes the subjects of this work—China and Japan—will prove very attractive. China, with her vast undeveloped resources, her increasing population, and, above all, her uneasy but fateful movement away from the well-worn paths of her past, and towards the untrodden ways of an as yet undecipherable future, looms ever larger

upon the horizon of the public view. Japan, at all times a centre of attraction to the casual traveller from the West, acquires a daily growing interest for the people whose interests in Asia are, by common consent and by the more formal testimony of solemn treaty stipulations, inextricably interwoven with her own. Beyond interesting the general reader, China provides a field for the enterprise of the merchant and manufacturer; while the commercial and industrial ambitions of Japan invite from them the most careful consideration, and the most serious study.

Vol. i. appeals more generally, but not exclusively, to those who find pleasure in following a narrative of travel in unfamiliar and unbeaten tracks. Thirteen of its eighteen chapters are devoted to descriptions of the author's journey across the interior of China. The remaining chapters deal with the positions of Japan and China in the Far East respectively, and with the contrast they present; the much-debated question of the navigation of the middle reaches of the Yang-tsze River; the intricacies of the opium question; and the building of the frontier between Burma and the Chinese Empire.

Vol. ii. is composed mainly of a series of essays upon subjects of more especial interest to those who are themselves personally interested, either directly or indirectly, in the development of Far Eastern affairs—the student, the politician, the financier, the merchant, and the manufacturer. There are thirteen chapters in this volume, nine of them devoted to a critical examination of Japan's place in the Far East. The remaining four chapters are concerned with such matters as the present attitude of China towards Europe, and with the existing state of the commerce and communications (railways) of the Empire, some indications also being given as to their probable future development. The many beautiful illustrations are all, with the exception of the frontispiece, reproductions of photographs taken by the author, and there is a map in the first volume which has been specially prepared under his personal direction.—G. L.

CLARENDON PRESS.

3. *A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1640-1643*, by ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY, with introduction and notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. The four years covered by this book were the years of the beginning of the Civil War, a period of insecurity for merchants and trade in England, and this is shown by the records printed here. Although 1640 opened well for the East India Company, and the King spoke fair promises to renew its charter, the public could not be made to come forward to subscribe, so the burden of carrying on the trade fell on the existing shareholders. A successful investment in pepper was rendered less successful by a curious transaction by which the Lord Chancellor bought the whole for the King "on credit."

In 1641 the Company withdrew a petition to the Commons against Endymion Porter at the King's request, but the rivalry of Courteen was not stopped thereby as they had hoped. Claims against the Dutch made the hands of Sir William Boswell, the Ambassador at the Hague, very full, and at last the Dutch offered 500,000 guilders. A treaty, however, was made between England and Portugal in 1641, which continued the truce between the East India Company and the Viceroy of Goa. In these perplexing times, when the position of the Company was so difficult at home, the complications about the joint-stock and the Company's grievances are too long to be dealt with here. It is more interesting to us now to learn that Fort St. George was then founded by Francis Day, and to read of an intended attempt to colonize Madagascar under John Bond, who, in 1642, proposed to take thither "250 men and 40 women." "We must," as Mr. Foster says, "pay a tribute of admiration to the men who guided the East India Company through all its difficulties in these trying times."

—A. F. S.

T. WERNER LAURIE; CLIFFORD'S INN, LONDON.

4. *Egypt*, by PIERRE LOTI; translated from the French by W. P. BAINES, and with eight illustrations in colour by A. LAMPLOUGH. The translator has done ample justice to the French author. His style is discussive and rigorous, and describes with minuteness and elegance several of the byways and corners of Cairo and its surroundings which are not visited by the general traveller. For example, his visit to the basilica is described as follows: "Dimly lighted by the flames of a few poor slender tapers, which flicker against the walls in stone niches; a dense crowd of human figures veiled in black, in a place overpowering and suffocating—underground, no doubt—which is filled with the perfume of the incense of Arabia; and a noise of almost wicked movement, which stirs us to alarm and even horror; pleadings of new-born babies, cries of distress of tiny mites whose voices are drowned, as if on purpose, by a clinking of cymbals. . . .

"What can it be? Why have they descended into this dark hole, these little ones, who howl in the midst of the smoke, held by these phantoms in mourning? Had we entered it unawares, we might have thought it a den of wicked sorcery and underground cavern for the black mass.

"But no. It is the crypt of the basilica of St. Sergius during the Coptic Mass of Easter morning. And when, after the first surprise, we examine these phantoms, we find that, for the most part, they are young mothers, with the refined and gentle faces of Madonnas, who hold the plaintive little ones beneath their black veils and seek to comfort them. And the sorcerer who plays the cymbals is a kind of priest, or sacristan, who smiles paternally. If he makes all this noise, in a rhythm which in itself is full of joy, it is to mark the gladness of Easter morn, to celebrate the Resurrection of Christ, and a little, too, no doubt, to distract the little ones, some of whom are woefully put out.

But their mammas do not prolong the proof—a mere momentary visit to this venerable place, which is to bring them happiness, and they carry their babies away; and others are let in by the dark, narrow staircase, so low that one cannot stand upright in it. And thus the crypt is not emptied. And meanwhile Mass is being said in the church overhead.

“But what a number of people, of black veils, are in this hovel, where the air can scarcely be breathed, and where the barbarous music, mingled with wailings and cries, deafens you! And what an air of antiquity marks all things here! The defaced walls, the low roof that one can easily touch, the granite pillars which sustain the shapeless arches, are all blackened by the smoke of the wax candles, and scarred and worn by the friction of human hands.

“At the end of the crypt there is a very sacred recess, round which a crowd presses. A coarse niche, a little larger than those cut in the wall to receive the tapers, a niche whose covers the ancient stone, on which, according to tradition, the Virgin Mary rested with the child Jesus in the course of the flight into Egypt. This holy stone is sadly worn to-day, and polished smooth by the touch of many pious hands, and the Byzantine cross which once was carved on it is almost effaced.

“But even if the virgin had never rested there, the humble crypt of St. Sergius would remain no less one of the oldest Christian sanctuaries in the world. And the Copts who still assemble there with veneration have preceded by many years the greater part of our Western nations in the religion of the Bible.”

The volume embodies eight illustrations in colour, titled as follows: *Philæ—Present Day*, *The Sphinx from the Desert*, *A View of the Citadel*, *A Cairo Street Scene*, *A Distant View of the Pyramids*, *Sunset on the Banks of the Nile*, *The Colossi of Memnon*, *The Cataract at Assouan*. All these are well executed, and add a charm to the book. There is also a very useful and copious index.

LUZAC AND CO. ; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

5. *Ancient Ceylon*, by H. PARKER. The object of this work is to describe "some phases of the early civilization [of Ceylon], beginning with the history, life, and religion of the aborigines, and ending . . . with the village games." Mr. Parker appears to have taken great pains in bringing together a large collection of antiquarian and archæological lore. The three parts into which the book is divided deal with the aborigines, structural works, and arts, implements, and games. A special chapter, devoted to the origin and signification of the Cross and the Swāstika, contains much that is interesting, but the conclusions arrived at are not always unexceptionable. The author claims to have written principally for the specialist, and should accordingly have shown greater care and discrimination. Preconceived theory often takes the place of ascertained fact, and detracts from the value of his deductions. Thus the translation of "Paṇḍuwāsa Dēva" as "The Deity or King of the Pale Race" is, to say the least, unscientific and meaningless. There would have been more justification for deciding the name from the House of Pāṇḍu, with which that of Wijaya was allied by marriage. Surely the numerous sculptured lions at Anurādhapūra, again, have no connection with Hinduism, but are the national symbol, in whose shape even the Mahāvihāra was laid out. A similar mistake is made with regard to the circle and segment, well known in the island as emblems of the sun and moon. In the chapter on weapons, the "Nikāya sangraha" and the "Thūpananisa," which contain much valuable information, might advantageously have been made use of. When dealing with inscriptions the writer could not have done better than consult Mr. Wickremasinghe's "Epigraphia Zeylanica," which furnishes the latest and most authoritative exposition of some of the earliest. Mr. Parker's original investigation into the forest dialect, and into the construction of the *dāgabas* and irrigation works, forms the most important

contribution to knowledge embodied in the volume. There are a few misprints, such as Ludovisi for Ludovici; and *a e*, instead of *æ*, is generally employed in the text. The book is profusely illustrated, but some of the sketches might have been better; it is printed in large, clear type, and is furnished with a good index.—E. W. P.

6. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, PH.D., LITT.D. This series of lectures delivered at Harvard is written chiefly from the point of view of the relations its subject stands in regarding the religion of the Israelites. It is popular in character and easy to understand. Beginning with the fascinating story of the recovery of a lost religion through the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions and the rediscovery of how to read them—in which Grotefend played a great part—we get away from the history of Assyrian research to the real subject of the book. The gods of Babylon and Assyria fall under review. As Semitic civilization rose on the decline of Sumerian, the god En-Lil, or Bel, rose also. Babylon under the great Hammurabi elevated the god Marduc, and he was identified with Bel to supremacy, for whenever a King grew in power the power of his duty grew also. In Assyria there was the god Ashur—afterwards the War God—but the Assyrians when they conquered Babylon became worshippers of Marduc as well. Beyond these there were a welter of other gods—Adad, Belit, Anū, Ishtar, Ec, and Raman whom we all know under a variant of that name. Nebuchadnezzar at the zenith of his power worshipped Bel-Marduk, but found it well to honour Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar in addition, and their worship continued down to the destruction of the Chaldean Empire by Cyrus. Bel, Lord of the Underworld, and Creator of the World, had a consort Belit. Ec (who had many names) was God of the Waterworld, Anu of the sky, Sin, the Moon-god—to mention only a few in this ever-changing pantheon; Ishtar, the goddess *par excellence*. Nabu, or Nebo, was originally a water deity of the City

of Borsippa. The writer enters into the controversy as to where the name Jahweh appears, and holds that though "the *name* came to Israel from the outside," it remained for her and her prophets to give to that name all the ethical power of monotheism. We are taken through a long account of the cosmologies, strife of the gods ending in the defeat of the elder gods and the rising of Marduc, and the author shows that they were known to the Hebrews by a reference to Rahab or Tiawat in the Psalter, and by their influence on the Hebrew account of the Creation, greatly altered by the immense change from polytheism to a belief in the One God. The sacred books of Assyria and Babylon, the story of the Flood, and other epics and myths are then examined; and, while acknowledging the debt the Hebrews had to them for some of their own sacred ideas, the author clearly shows his position in his final statement, "Whatever Israel took it transformed."—A. F. S.

LONDON; MACMILLAN AND CO., 1909.

7. *History of India for Senior Classes*, Part I.: Hindu Period, by E. MARSDEN, B.A., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. This is a model of what a school-book should be—clearly and simply written, beautifully printed, and adorned with a number of most illuminating maps. Though "not written for scholars," as Mr. Marsden in his modest preface is careful to warn his readers, it seems to embody the results of the most recent scholarship, and is delightfully free from disquisitions, which, however learned, are generally very tiresome. After all, the majority of us will never be distinguished scholars, and certainly that numerous class will find stores of information quite new to them in this little book. The proof-reading, too, has been most carefully done, and there is no list of errata to annoy the reader, nor have I discovered many serious printer's errors, except on pp. 120 and 121, where the birth of Buddha is variously given as 567 and 569 B.C. There are, however, a few misplaced accents, as

on p. 67, of "Bharatás" for "Bháratas," on p. 120 Ajatá for Ajáta, and a mis-spelling of Lichchavis on p. 84 which might as well be corrected.*

I am not scholar enough to discuss the sources of Hindu history, but it seems surprising that the author does not even allude to Mr. Tilak's idea that the Aryans came originally from the Arctic Circle, or even to Bishop Caldwell's suggestion that the Finns and the Dravidians were both members of the same dark aboriginal race which was overwhelmed by the fair-skinned Aryans.

The index is clear, but not very full; and it seems strange that such a common name as pariah (outcaste?) is not to be found in it, though the word is mentioned on p. 305. This is the more surprising, as Mr. Marsden gives some interesting details about the celebrated Tamil poet, the Pariah Tiruvalluvar. Again, the word Kosála is so spelt with an accent in the index, whereas in two places quoted in the text it has no accent, and in the third only on the "ó." But these are very slight blemishes, easily corrected in a second edition, in which, too, the index might be greatly improved—e.g., "Kulinism" is mentioned (though not explained) on p. 232, but is not in the index. A more serious omission is that of the well-known town *Rajahmandry*, which, by the way, together with Vengi, is evidently misplaced in the map on p. 246, because on p. 262 Vengi is said to be seven miles *north* of Ellore, whereas in the map it is shown a long way *south-west* of it. *Rajahmandry* is, of course, on the Godavery; not, as mapped, on the Krishna.

There is apparently another discrepancy between the text and accompanying map on pp. 182 and 183, where the text says Harsha "conquered North-West India *up to the Indus*," though farther on it is said that he "did not

* Mr. Marsden is somewhat inconsistent in transliterating Hindu names—e.g., we have Sankará-charya and Madhavá-charya, but Ramanrija Áchárya and Bháskar-áchárya, instead of Sankarácháři, Madhaváchári, Rámanujáchári and Bháskaráchári. He also neglects Hunter's useful rule about the spelling of stereotyped names—"Narmada," or even "Narbada," for "Nerbudda" is pedantic.

conquer Kashmir or the Punjab," and the map agrees. Perhaps "conquer" in this passage is a slip for "annex" (?).

The chapter on caste is particularly interesting, but very little is said about the advantages of the caste system, or even of its many evils which Sir George Watt, in his recent lecture on the people of India,* described as so serious. No doubt caste and religion are inextricably mixed up amongst the Hindus, and the religious element makes caste differences more acute than they would be otherwise; but how Sir George can have brought himself to say that the toleration of all religions by the British Government is "one of the worst things England has ever done," (if he did say so,) is quite inexplicable. One cannot believe that any practical administrator could be found to agree with him.

On the whole we may fairly say that this little book is full of the most interesting information and would be very useful to the Indian civilian and others who hope to make India their home, as well as to the schoolboys for whom it is primarily intended. Many who have spent the best years of their life in India will find much in it they either never knew or had quite forgotten. I should like to add to Mr. Marsden's list of authorities an excellent paper by that well-known archæologist, Mr. Robert Sewell, F.R.G.S., of the Madras Civil Service, which is printed in the *Journal* of the East India Association, Vol. xxix., No. 10.† Mr. Sewell differs widely from him as to the character and extent of the Empire of Asoka.

The few pages devoted to South India, though very fragmentary, are almost worth a separate notice. I will only add here that the omission of the Tambraparni, which is, for its size, probably the most valuable and best utilized river in India‡ and certainly one of the most beautiful

* *Richmond Standard*, October 30, 1909.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.

‡ The irrigated area of the Tambraparni valley is about 100,000 acres, assessed at about 8 lakhs of rupees for one crop, and Rs. 370,000 additional on the second crop of 54,000 acres, so that the 100,000 acres yield about 12 lakhs of rupees, and practically never fail.

amongst those which watered the Chola and Pandiya kingdoms, is remarkable, as well as the fact that our author does not even mention the learned Bishop Caldwell's most interesting "History of Tinnevely."—J. P.

THE OXFORD CLARENDON PRESS.

8. *A Hundred Verses from Old Japan, being a Translation of the Hyaku-nin-isskin*, by WILLIAM N. PORTER. These single verses by a hundred people were collected together in A.D. 1235 by Sadaiye Fujiwara, and include one by himself. They range from about the year 670 to the year of compilation. It is well known that the Japanese devote themselves to poetry much more than we do, and in nearly all homes in Japan, however humble, these verses are quoted.

The Japanese poetry differs from ours; it has no rhyme or alliteration, and little, if any, rhythm, as we understand it. The verses in this collection are all what are called *tanka*, which was for many years the only form of verse known to the Japanese. A *tanka* verse has five lines and thirty-one syllables, arranged thus: 5.7.5.7.7; but as this is an unusual metre in our ears, the author has adopted for the translation a five-lined verse of 8.6.8.6.6 metre with the second, fourth, and fifth lines rhyming, and still retaining some resemblance to the original form, while making the sound more familiar to English readers. The following well-known *tanka* verse, which does not appear in the collection, is an example:

"I dete inaba
Nushinaki yado to
Narinu tomo
Nokiba no ume yo
Haru wo wasuruna."

"Though masterless my home appear
When I have gone away,
Oh, plum-tree, growing by the eaves,
Forget not to display
Thy buds in spring, I pray."

In translating it is necessarily impossible to adhere at all literally to the text, as Japanese poetry abounds in all sorts of puns, plays upon words, and alternative meanings, which cannot be rendered into English. But the author has succeeded in giving to the public a charming set of verses, first in Japanese, in Roman character, and then a translation into English, with historical and explanatory notes, and an illustration to each poem.—G. L.

SANDS AND CO. ; LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

9. *The Catholic Church in China*, by the Rev. BERTRAM WOLFERTAN, S.J. This admirably printed book of 450 pages is remarkable, first and foremost, for its extreme lightness. The paper, though remarkably thin, is quite opaque, and the handling of the work is in consequence a physical pleasure, however long it may be nonchalantly balanced in one hand before the reader's eye. A second feature is that it is written in the spirit of an English gentleman and a broad-minded man, who, though himself an uncompromising Catholic, and, of course, therefore, a firm believer in the Apostolic Succession and Infallibility dogmas, yet finds it quite possible to write courteously and good-naturedly of his spiritual adversaries, the Hydra-headed "Prots.," male or female. He has adopted the eminently fair, but very unusual, plan of allowing Protestants to express the main opinions upon missionary successes and failures, whilst reserving only the dry statistics of results for the Catholic missions themselves. He begins by tracing in his preface the relative historical positions of the one and indivisible Catholic Church (which he invariably honours with a capital, She and Her) and the various Protestant "sects," inevitably dependent upon "Her," of course, for the original essentials of their faith. The Catholic Church, however, is in no way dependent on the Bible. "The Holy Book came from Her, and not She from It. She existed as an organized body before a word of the New Testament was written." This will be a bitter pill for many Protestants to swallow.

Then comes an introduction, stating the practical scope of the work, the origins and descriptions of the information obtained (it *all* comes from China), as well as the positive *working* position taken up at this moment by the Catholics in China regarding the Protestants, as distinct from the abstract historical position already treated of in the preface, as above indicated. A good map shows very clearly the area covered by each now existing Catholic mission, and the number of converts in each, according to the latest obtainable official data—*i.e.*, according to the data supplied, in most cases direct to Father Wolfertan, by the Bishops or heads of missions on the spot.

The main portion of the work is then divided into three parts of about 150 pages apiece, each part being again subdivided into seven or eight chapters. Part I. is called "The Chaos of Creeds," and its eight chapters treat of the translation, circulation, with the general treatment and uses, of the Holy Scripture in China; the "diffusion" of the Protestant teaching, as compared with the "concentration" principle of the Catholics; of marriage from missionary and Chinese points of view; and so on. Part II., on "China and the Christian Nations," discusses in seven chapters questions of education, future prospects, European influence, the open door, Chinese appreciations and objections, and the warnings to be gained by the experiences passed through up to date. "Catholic Missions" are specially discussed in Part III., and the seven chapters thereof give a detailed account of the Catholic missionary as seen at work and as seen at home in China; the opinions of hostile, or at least not so friendly, Protestant clerics; the vexed questions of litigation, orphanages, and nuns; and various other miscellaneous matters of a more or less contentious nature.

The six appendices will be found very valuable by those who really desire an impartial knowledge of what educational work the Catholic missionaries have really done, and are still doing. Being all of a purely statistical nature, they will, naturally, not be assimilated readily by the general or

the indifferent reader, and Father Wolfertan therefore does well to keep these dry bones of debate apart from the more digestible or fleshy matter as given in the three parts described in the last paragraph.

Last of all comes a bibliography, showing what works the author has consulted; and, indeed, he has been most catholic in his choice of authorities. It is a little surprising, however, to find that no mention is made in the index, and therefore presumably in the body of the book, of Father Wallays' "*Predicatio Evangelii in Oriente*," an English translation of which was published in the *China Review* of 1889, reprinted at Hong Kong by the *China Mail* office in 1893. The reprint was corrected by Father Wallays (of the Penang College) himself, and covers a very wide historical ground.

The index is rather weak and inadequate. In works of this kind, where polyglot names of individuals and places occur wholesale on every page, it is highly desirable to have a very thorough index, for cross-references are indispensable at every turn, if the reader honestly desire to keep the hinges of his mind in smooth swinging order as he studies. A second edition ought to see to this.

As a book of reference, for both Catholics and Protestants, the painstaking analysis of Father Wolfertan is of immense value. So far as can be seen, without reading carefully through every page, there is an entire absence of girding at the "opposition," and a well-bred, kindly readiness to give credit to all Protestants for at least meaning to do good according to conscience. After all, the author seems to say, we are all men, and we should therefore be as "man to man" in our spiritual as well as in our social relations.—E. H. PARKER.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LIMITED, LONDON;
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK.

10. *The Russo-Japanese War: a Sketch. First Period—the Concentration*, by CAPTAIN F. R. SEDGWICK, R.F.A.

With maps and plans. Captain F. R. Sedgwick, R.F.A., is much to be congratulated on his very instructive, clear, and admirably-written account of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Though only of 192 pages, he has in these few pages most concisely condensed all the leading facts and influences leading up to and incidents during this most momentous war of modern times, in such lucid and simple a manner as not only to be instructive, but readable with interest by the general reader uninitiated in military science or theories of the art of war, in a short account, without entering too minutely into minor details, of importance only to the advanced military student.

His arrangement of the subject in its various phases in each of the chapters is very clear and simple, while his comments on the dispositions and movements of the opposing forces, with their consequent influences and results in each of the great general actions, are very sound and instructive, being based on the opinions of the most modern leading authorities and writers on the general principles of the art of war of the present time.

To the embryo field-m Marshals and future commanders of the British Army, a careful study of this work in conjunction with that of the clear and simple range of maps illustrating the subject-matter of the account of the war, cannot but be of the greatest benefit as a preparation for the further study of the campaign in greater detail in future fuller authorized accounts.—W. G. C. JOHNSTONE, Lieutenant-Colonel.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; 15, WATERLOO PLACE,
LONDON, S.W.

II. *Fifty Years of New Japan*. Compiled by COUNT SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA. English version, edited by MARCUS B. HUISSH ; vols. i. and ii. This work comprises the collective opinions of able authorities on various subjects bearing upon the advancement of the Empire of Japan since the downfall of the Tokugawa Shōguns, and the

opening out of the country for the purpose of embracing the advantages of Western civilization. The book is up to date; what is explained is written in a clear and terse manner. The pages glow with interesting and instructive items. The re-organization of the army and navy, police and prison reform, commercial and educational systems, arts, trades, industries, and a host of other subjects, are fully explained. The Japanese army has been dealt with by Field-Marshal Prince Aritomo Yamagata; the Japanese navy by Admiral Count Gombey Yamamoto. Count Ōkuma has written a survey of the history of the country from its earliest epoch to the present time. Words such as the following show the spirit of the age. Count Ōkuma states significantly that "we will not live beyond reach of the main current of the world's politics. . . . We also insist that civilization is not a monopoly of European countries." And again, "from the earliest historic times the Japanese nation has incorporated the blood of many races, and has consequently developed a larger degree of freedom of character." It is to this last fact that the author attributes the energy, facility of purpose, aptitude for changes for the better, that have characterized the prompt actions of this once exclusive people. The rapid strides they have taken towards the attainment of their aims appear to those who study the actions of these Orientals in a cursory manner as little short of marvellous. But had Japan sprung gradually into notice of her own will in the first place, its advance would have been made through the ordinary stages of progression, step by step; but a country closely barred and sealed, except by favour and subterfuge, arrested from advance by being continually thrust back upon its own resources, content with its own insular prejudices, and rendered inert by the race-loving, highly-cultured temperament of its people in the Middle Ages, was bound to take the reactionary excitement seriously when such an opportunity arose. All this came to pass when the civilization of the West had attained

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to great heights, and all that concerned the welfare of nations made a dazzling impression on the pages of the world's history. Great discoveries were being brought to light, schemes for wider educational systems were afoot, defences by sea and land were demanding attention, trades and industries everywhere were developing and improving, civilization assumed its fairest guises—therefore it was no wonder that Japan thirsted to embrace, with all the passionate expression their reserved nature could command, the advantages that were held up for them to emulate.

The transition stage through which the country is still passing is, perhaps, the least fascinating of any process. But as in time the chrysalis becomes a beautiful moth, endowed with wings, by which it attains its freedom ; or, as the initial colouring on the canvas is the medium for some mighty conception from the master mind, so, when the goal of Japan's ambition is reached, may beauty, freedom, and success crown the fair country for the benefit of mankind. If we may believe all that is contained within these pages, this is the ultimate purpose of Eastern progress.

The political changes have been the greatest. From ultra-imperialism, based on the traditional belief in the heavenly descent of the ruling Sovereign, the land now rejoices in its constitutional Government, which was deemed absolutely necessary for the organization of its expansive plans. This was granted soon after the accession to the throne of the present Emperor. Though party feeling sprang up, all unite in times of danger ; there is only one serious evil that may mar the work of progress unless it can be effectually eradicated. We learn, alas ! that Socialism is creeping into the land, and though past attempts have been checked, it is still smouldering. Is civilization to be held responsible for the blot upon the pages of a loyal nation's history ? We hope not, for such a pernicious doctrine will be detrimental to the perfecting of the grand ideals of the East.

We are much indebted to the authors and translators

of this collection of most instructive monographs, bearing upon subjects of such vital interest, as well as to Count Ōkuma for his wise choice and careful compilation of "Fifty Years of New Japan." All who wish to learn about our Far Eastern allies will do well to study the facts set down in such a lucid manner, and culled from reliable sources. The map, texts of treaties, etc., which constitute the appendix, are all most acceptable for reference. To Mr. Huish our thanks are also due as editor of these important though somewhat lengthy volumes.—S.

EDWARD STANFORD; LONG ACRE, LONDON, W. C.

12. *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel* (new issue). Asia, vol. ii. Southern and Western Asia: by A. H. KEANE, LL.D., F.R.G.S. With maps and illustrations. Second edition, revised and corrected. During the time that has elapsed since the first edition of this volume was published, geographical work in Southern and Western Asia has been mainly confined to filling up of details in historical regions already fairly well known in their physical outlines. Explorations have gone out to the West and Central Himalayan glaciers and passes, and to the Suru (Kashmir) upland; the Perso-Afghan borderlands and Baluchistan.

The Gunung-Tahan and other heights in the Malay Peninsula have been scaled. The surveys of Lake Urmi and of the Dead Sea have taken place.

Other information arising from the Anglo-Russian Convention of August, 1907, and Anglo-Japanese agreement of August, 1905, is given. Attention has also been given to the remarkable progress of railway enterprise, as in French Indo-China, where 900 miles were open to traffic in 1907, and in Asiatic Turkey, where the first special train of the Damascus-Mecca trunk line arrived at Medina on August 22, 1908, a memorable event in the Mohammadan world. The book contains beautiful maps, and many illustrations of cities, lakes, mountains, etc.—G. L.

UNIVERSITY PRESS; CAMBRIDGE.

13. *Yün-Nan*, by MAJOR H. R. DAVIES. We have not so many books upon the little-known region of Yün-Nan that we can afford, as the author seems to have feared, to neglect this good one. We are glad to have read this narrative of the travels undertaken by the writer between 1894 and 1900, during which period he covered 5,500 miles of road in the South-East of China, only half of which had been traversed by Europeans before, and much only by missionaries. We learn a great deal, therefore, that is little known about the geography, as well as the products and trade, of the province, and an admirable map has been constructed. Desirous of establishing the Yün-Nan railway, which would tap the trade of the richer province of Seti-Ch'üan, and draw it towards Būrma instead of allowing it to pass wholly into French hands, the author undertook these various journeys, and describes his travels, and what he saw, in an attractively simple manner, and gives important information about the scheme of the railway itself. He lays some stress on Chinese insolence and "bad manners"; and his own experiences were saddened by the murder, in Shan-Si, of his comrade Captain Watts Jones, whom he mentions with affectionate regard. Missionaries he praises personally, although he is by no means blind to the differences of their various methods and systems. It is interesting to find how many races, excluding the Panthays, still exist separately in the mountainous province, which (as the illustrations of this book show) has such beautiful scenery. Shans, whom the author liked better than the Chinese; Kachins, the head-hunting; Was, Las, Li-sos, and the war-like Lólos, etc., are mentioned in bewildering sequence, and their peculiarities noticed. Almost all of these aboriginal tribes are under the process of becoming good Chinese in due time; but we are given a valuable chapter on their existing ethnic characteristics and linguistic peculiarities. The author is a good traveller, inasmuch as he knows what to observe and note, and the result is an attractive account of that part of China which is nearest to Burma.—A. F. S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report, 1905-06. (Calcutta Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1909.) This superbly got-up report contains an introduction detailing the disaster that befel the monuments of India by the earthquake of that year. The beautifully printed text is illustrated by well-executed engravings. There are the "Ancient Monuments of Kangra"; "Inscriptions and Temples"; "The Restoration of two Elephant Statues at the Fort of Delhi," and other monuments. "The Restoration of the Jaina Tower of Chitorgadh"; "Conversations in Madras"; "Excavations at Kasiā"; "Caves and Buried Remains in other Parts"; "Village Sights"; "Excavations and Sculptures in different parts in India."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*; *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1909 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*Romesh Chunder Dutt: A Sketch of his*

Life and Career;—*Budruddin Tyabji*;—*W. C. Bonnerjee*; *A. M. Bose* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Future of the Congo*, by E. D. Morel (London: Smith, Elder and Co.);—*The Crime of the Congo*, by A. Conan Doyle (London: Hutchinson and Co.);—*Travel and Exploration*, October, November, and December, 1909 (London: Witherby and Co.);—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle for 1908-9* (Government Press, Peshawar);—*History and Literature of Jainism*, by M. D. Barodia, B.A. (The Jain Graduates' Association, Bombay);—*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1908* (Washington: Government Printing Office);—*Two Indian Campaigns in 1857-58*, by Colonel E. T. Thackeray, C.B., V.C. (Chatham: N. and J. Mackay and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *The Original Religion of China*, by John Ross, D.D. (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier);—*The Dates of Genesis*, by Rev. F. A. Jones (London: The Kingsgate Press);—*Through Persia from the Gulf to the Caspian*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt (London: Smith, Elder, and Co.);—*Court Life in China*, by Isaac Taylor Headland (London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell and Co.); *Heroes of Modern India*, by Edward Gilliat, M.A. (London: Seeley and Co., Ltd.);—*Lake Victoria to Khartoum with Rifle and Camera*, by Captain F. A. Dickinson (London: John Lane);—*A History of Sarawak under its two White Rajahs, 1839-1908*, by S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (London: H. Sotheran and Co.);—*Islam: Her Moral and Spiritual Value*, by Major A. G. Leonard (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Preaching*, by F. E. Carter, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green and Co.);—*Modern Arabic Stories, Ballads, Proverbs, and Idioms*, by Colonel A. O. Green, F.S.C., parts I. and 2 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press);—*Heroes of our Indian Empire*, vols. i. and ii.; *The Governors-*

General of India, vols. i. and ii.; *The Life of John Murdoch, LL.D.*, all by Henry Morris, and published by (The Christian Literature Society for India, London);—*The Children of India*, by Janet H. Kelman; *The Children of China*, by Colin Campbell Brown (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier);—*Dulall, the Forest Guard*, by E. E. Gouldsbury (London: Gibbings and Co., Ltd.);—*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, part 9 (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Buddhism as a Religion*, by H. Hackmann (London: Probsthain and Co.);—*The Path of Light*, by L. D. Barnett, M.A., LITT.D. (London: John Murray);—*A Geography of India*, by George Patterson (London: The Christian Literature Society for India);—*The Great Wall of China*, by William Edgar Geil (London: John Murray);—*Japan in World Politics*, by Henry Dyer, C.E., M.A., D.SC. (London: Blackie and Son, Ltd.);—*Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, by Sven Hedin (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*China: Its Marvel and Mystery*, by T. Hodgson Liddell, R.B.A. (London: George Allen and Sons).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—The final details of Lord Morley's reform scheme, which has been occupying the Government of India and the India Office for over three years, were published on November 15, 1909, and comprise—(1) A short notice bringing the New Councils Act into force (the text of which is given in full in the foregoing pages); (2) the rules and regulations for guiding the constitution of the enlarged Imperial and Provincial Councils; (3) rules for the discussion of the annual financial statement and general resolutions, explaining the reasons for the changes proposed to be made and their chief details. The resolutions show that the Imperial Council will consist of sixty-eight members. All the nominated members are not to be official members. In each case the Government is required to nominate a fixed proportion of non-officials, either to represent special interests or minorities, or as experts. The following table, published together with the Government resolution, compares the total strength of the existing Councils with that of those about to be created, and gives the proportion of official and non-official members in the new bodies. The president and *ex-officio* members are included as official members. The two experts which local governments may nominate are separately shown, as they may belong to either category.

Legislature.	Expiring Councils.	New Councils.			Total.
	Total.	Official.	Non-official.	Experts.	
Imperial - - -	24	36	32	—	68
Madras - - -	24	20	26	2	48
Bombay - - -	24	18	28	2	48
Bengal - - -	21	18	31	2	51
U. Provinces - -	16	21	26	2	49
Eastern Bengal and Assam - - -	16	18	23	2	43
Punjab - - -	10	11	14	2	27
Burma - - -	10	7	9	2	18
Total membership	145	—	—	—	352

In certain specified cases, seats shown in the Schedule as elective will have to be filled by nomination, pending the formation at the earliest possible date of suitable electorates.

All members will be required to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown before sitting on any of the Councils, and no person is eligible for election if the Imperial or a Provincial Government is of opinion that his election would be contrary to public interest.

The function of the Councils consist in the examination of the annual financial proposals, which is divided into three parts. The first allows an opportunity for discussing any alteration in taxation, and any new loan or grant to a local Government. Under the second, any head of revenue or expenditure will be explained by the member in charge of the Department concerned, and any resolution may be moved; and at the third stage the Finance Minister presents his Budget, and explains why any resolutions will not be accepted, a general discussion following.

The new Provincial Councils will assemble early in January, and the Imperial Council in the course of the same month.

The Mahomedans, at a mass meeting at Lucknow on November 24, passed a resolution thanking the Government for the special privileges accorded to their community under the reform scheme. They thanked the Secretary of State for the sympathetic consideration which he had shown them in revising the regulations for the Imperial Council.

The first elections under the reform scheme took place at Lucknow on November 30, at which the Raja of Partabgarh and the Maharaja of Balrampur were unanimously elected as representatives to the Council.

The disqualifications in the case of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee were, on the instance of the Lieutenant-Governor, waived in the view of him becoming a candidate for the new Councils. Mr. Banerjee communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor his deep gratitude for the removal of the dis-

qualifications ; but he explained that, owing to the regulations in his party, they had decided against his candidature, and he is bound by this decision.

The other Council elections are proceeding throughout the country. Some constituencies, such as the Universities and the municipalities, have completed their elections, and returned the old members. In Bengal much interest is shown in the elections, and sixteen candidates have been nominated for four Mahomedan seats. Calcutta municipality, where Indians predominate, has elected Mr. Apar, a prominent merchant.

Great activity is being displayed in the United Provinces. Mahomedans are entering with determination into the contests where the electorates are mixed. The Raja of Jehangirabad is a candidate for the Provincial Council in the Faizabad Division. The Raja Rampal Singh has been elected, unopposed, to the Provincial Council.

Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor, has nominated the following unofficial members of the Provincial Council of the United Provinces ; the Nawab of Rampur, the Nawab of Pahasu, the Raja of Tehri, the Maharaja of Benares, and Mr. Mackinnon, indigo-planter. Among the officials nominated is Mahomed Rafique, Sessions Judge. Ibrahim Rahim Toola was returned at a poll at Bombay as a Mahomedan representative.

Lord Minto, in closing the session of the Legislative Council on October 22, said that the present system had lasted forty-eight years. The Viceroy eulogized the services rendered by the civil and military members who had sat on the Council, and trusted that, with increased numbers, past traditions would be worthily upheld. " I earnestly hope," His Excellency concluded, " that we may follow in our predecessors' footsteps, supported by the ever-increasing trust and support of the people of India."

At the Bengal Moslem Political Conference, held at Burdwan on October 30, Nawab Nasil ul Mulk Miraga Shujaatali Khan, the president, said that, while thanking

Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the reforms that had been framed, unless a separate election was granted there would be no real and adequate representation of Mahomedans. He strongly deprecated the boycott of British goods, and remarked that true *Swadeshi* was an economic movement. He exhorted both Mahomedans and Hindus to strengthen the hands of the Government in exterminating anarchism, which was the curse of humanity.

The Government of India has sanctioned, tentatively, the provision of facilities for religious instruction in Government and municipal schools of Burma. The instruction is to be given outside school-hours in the schools where the parents desire it. Equal facilities are given for all creeds.

An earthquake occurred at Belput on October 22, destroying the station and buildings. Twenty-five persons were killed and twelve injured.

A cyclone, on October 18, wrecked Goalanda and other Eastern Bengal stations. Many river steamers and a large number of native craft were sunk. The edge of the cyclone was felt in Calcutta, two goods trains being derailed and a guard being killed.

On the occasion of the King's birthday, November 9, 1909, the following appointments, among others, were made :

Peer.—Sir Arthur Godley, G.C.B., late Permanent Under-Secretary of State, India Office.

Order of the Indian Empire.—Honorary K.C.I.E. : Doctor Sven Hedin.

Order of the Crown of India.—Mary Caroline, Countess of Minto, wife of the Right Honourable Gilbert John, Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Daughter of General the Honourable Charles Grey, and sister of Lord Grey, Governor-General of Canada, and Lady Antrim. Is a Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., has been appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in place of

the Right Hon. Sir Andrew Richard Scoble, K.C.S.I., resigned.

Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., one of the Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council, resigned at the end of November on account of ill health, and has left England for India.

Mr. V. Krisnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L., has been appointed Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras.

Sir Richmond Thackeray Ritchie, K.C.B., becomes Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, in place of Sir Arthur Godley, G.C.B., retired.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—During the quarter, Lord Minto has made an extensive tour through the Native States. He was everywhere received in a very cordial way. He visited, among other places, Alwar, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur. At the latter place, at a banquet given in his honour, he made a speech on the policy of the Government towards the feudatory princes, which was regarded as a most important pronouncement. At the outset of his remarks, Lord Minto mentioned that the ruling chiefs, by taking the precaution to bar the entrance of sedition into their possessions, had added a further proof to the many which they had already given in the past of their devotion to the Crown. He congratulated the Maharaja on the inauguration of a squadron of Imperial Service Cavalry, which was a further evidence of loyalty. The basis of the policy of the Government towards the Native States was laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation in 1858, and was repeated in the Coronation message of His Majesty the King Emperor. That policy was, with rare exceptions, one of no interference in the internal affairs of the States. He said, moreover, that he had always been opposed to anything like pressure on durbars with the view to introducing British methods of administration. He had preferred that reforms should emanate from durbars themselves, and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the States.

Similar expressions of loyalty and devotion were expressed by representatives at the other places which were visited.

At Ahmedabad a bomb was thrown at His Excellency, but, happily, without damage, as it did not explode.

The Maharaja of Jodhpur has presented a lac of rupees (£6.666) to the Mayo College at Ajmer, as a token of his admiration of Lord Minto's work in India, and of gratitude for his policy towards the Native States.

In consequence of the demand put forward by the Mahomedans of Kashmir for a Mahomedan Minister, the Maharaja has appointed Sheikh Makbul Husain, hitherto Assistant-Director of Criminal Intelligence, to be Minister of Revenue.

The financial statement for Travancore for the official year ending August 15 last is published. Excluding figures under debt heads, the revenue during the year amounted to nearly 1 crore and 17 lacs of rupees. The expenditure was nearly 1 crore and 12 lacs of rupees, leaving a surplus of a little over 5 lacs of rupees, as against 57,000 rupees in the previous year. The closing balance was 94 lacs, 75,000 rupees, of which $26\frac{1}{2}$ lacs were in Government of India promissory notes. Land revenue increased by 5 lacs of rupees, as the result of the settlement reforms introduced by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., when Dewan of Travancore. On account of the development of trade, the Customs revenue increased by $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—Some trouble was caused on the frontier by a Dak runner being carried off by raiders on October 14, near Spina Khaisora, a post in the Toch Valley. The militia detachment at the post pursued the raiders, wounding one, and taking ten prisoners and capturing two rifles. The militia sustained no casualties.

The Afghan Governor, with a force of cavalry and infantry, held a durbar in the Khost district, at which he read a firman from the Ameer calling on the tribesmen to

cease their feuds and refrain from raids. In reply, the headmen professed their loyalty to the Ameer.

In order to facilitate reports from the frontier to Kabul, the Ameer is introducing the telephone system into various districts.

During the year 1908-09 the total expenditure on civil works on the North-Western Frontier was Rs. 20,66,106, the greater part of which was spent in strengthening the militia outposts and the construction of new roads.

PERSIA.—The troubles in Persia are diminishing, but here and there insurrections take place and inter-tribal fights occur. Some anxiety was caused by the seriousness of the situation at Ardabil, which was besieged by the Shahsevan and Karadaghi tribes, who occupied the town, and demanded the surrender of the persons who had taken refuge with the Russian Vice-Consul. Troops were despatched from Tabriz and Teheran, who, *en route*, attacked a hostile force entrenched in a sangar, and, after eleven hours' fighting, defeated them, and took 400 prisoners. The Shahsevans, after two days' negotiations, quitted the town, which was left under the protection of the Russian troops until the arrival of the Governor.

The Mejliss was opened on November 15 by the Shah Sultan Ahmed. In the speech from the throne the hope was expressed that the withdrawal of the foreign troops might be secured.

On November 24, by fifty-one votes to two, Azad-ul-Mulk was confirmed in the office of Regent. The Mejliss declared that it was desirable to obtain money from abroad for the purpose of constituting a force of 25,000 for the maintenance of order. This was approved, as also the employment of Europeans for the reorganization of the Finance Department.

Fighting is reported among the Kurdish tribes in the district of Kermanshah. The Baluchis, near Kerman, are threatening disturbances. The situation at Shiraz is very delicate. The roads between Shiraz and Bushire, and

between Ispahan and Shiraz are at present completely blocked by bands of brigands.

The Russian column has been withdrawn from Kazvin, leaving only a consular guard of fifty Cossacks.

The Persian Ambassador at Constantinople has demanded satisfaction for the killing of six villagers by Turkish troops during the recent aggression on the Persian frontier. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs has promised satisfaction, and agreed to the formation of a mixed Commission to settle the frontier dispute.

Captain M. E. Rae is appointed Vice-Consul for the district of Bundar Abbas up to the Khamir boundary, etc., and is to reside at Bundar Abbas.

PERSIAN GULF.—Three important captures of dhows engaged in the arms traffic have been made by warships in the Persian Gulf. H.M.S. *Fox* captured a dhow with 500 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition, H.M.S. *Philomel* captured one with 850 rifles and 60,000 rounds, and H.M.S. *Lapwing* seized a third with 15,000 rifles and 200,000 rounds.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—The situation in the Yemen continues to improve, and the Turkish authorities are confident that the affairs of the province will speedily be settled.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—In the Egyptian Budget for 1910 the receipts are estimated at £E15,350,000, and ordinary expenses at £E14,088,000, and special at £E1,062,000, leaving a surplus of £E200,000. The receipts would show a real increase of £E100,000 over those of 1909, the chief increase being in the revenue from the land-tax and the house-tax.

Mr. A. Chitty, adviser to the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, is resigning his post in April, when Mr. Ronald Graham, Councillor to the British Agency in Cairo, will succeed him.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—The first meeting of the new Federal Council of the Federated Malay States took place on December 11, 1909, at Kwala Kangsa (Perak).

Among those present were Sir John Anderson, High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States ; Sir W. T. Taylor, Resident-General ; the three Sultans of the Malay States, with the Residents and four unofficial members of the Federated Council. It was resolved to despatch the following telegram to King Edward : " The rulers of the Federated Malay States assembled for the first time present their loyal duty to your Majesty for having approved of the Federal Council, which is sure to tend to the increased welfare and prosperity of their countries." (See also letter from Major McNair, under " Correspondence, Notes, and News," elsewhere in this *Review*.)

CHINA.—The Pekin-Kalgan Railway, which has been under construction since 1905, was opened on October 3, in the presence of Prince Su and the Mongol Princes and foreign guests, at a celebration dinner given at Pekin. The line, which is 122 miles long, joins Pekin with the important trade mart of Kalgan.

In accordance with Article II. of the agreement regarding Korea, signed at Pekin on September 4 by the Chinese and Japanese plenipotentiaries, the Chinese Government declared open to residence and trade of foreigners from November 2 the towns of Lung-Ching-tsun, Chu-tsz-Chie, Ton-tao-Kou, and Pai-Tsao-Kou.

JAPAN.—Prince Ito, who was until July last the Japanese Resident-General in Korea, was assassinated on October 26 by a Korean at Harbin, in Manchuria, at which he had arrived for the purpose of meeting M. Kokovtseff, the Russian Minister of Finance. He was accorded a State funeral on November 4, which was carried out with great pomp and ceremony. The day was made the occasion of a popular demonstration of sympathy unparalleled in Japan. Among those following the hearse were representatives of the Emperor and Empress of Japan, and the representatives of foreign Governments.

The Privy Council has approved the Budget, which balances at 529,000,000 yen (£52,900,000).

Prince Yamagata has been appointed President of the Privy Council, in the place of the late Prince Ito.

Mr. Ernest Miles Hobart-Hampden has been appointed Japanese Secretary to His Majesty King Edward's Embassy at Tokio.

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION.—A Royal Proclamation was issued on December 3, 1909, declaring "that on and after the thirty-first day of May, one thousand nine hundred and ten, the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, shall be united in a Legislative Union under one Government, under the name of the 'Union of South Africa.'"

CAPE COLONY.—The Cape-to-Cairo Railway reached the Congo frontier on November 16.

Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson cabled to the King, on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday, offering, "on behalf of the oldest South African Colony, soon to be absorbed in the Union, after a separate existence under the Crown of more than a century, the loyal congratulations of the Government and the people of Cape Colony, and expressing the fervent hope that His Majesty might long be preserved to reign over his loyal subjects in United South Africa." The King replied by cable, thanking the Colony, and earnestly trusting that under the Union it may continue its career of prosperity.

The Cape Parliament rose on December 3, at the end of its last regular sitting. The Governor made a farewell speech to the members on the "occasion of the last Parliament of the Cape, which had been an example to any Parliament of the Empire."

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The deficit in the revenue for 1909-10 is estimated at £55,750.

RHODESIA.—The formal opening and linking up of the British and Congolese sections of the Rhodesia-Katanga Railway took place on December 11, 1909. The section of the railway opened covers 131 miles, from Broken Hill to the border.

WEST COAST AND NIGERIA.—Sir Henry Hesketh Joudou Bell, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Uganda in succession to Sir Percy Girouard.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—The Senate, on November 26, passed the Bill confirming the selection of Yass-Canberra as the Federal capital, and ratifying the agreement for the transfer of the territory by New South Wales.

The Bill modifying the financial arrangements between the States and the Commonwealth settled by the Constitution was passed by the Commonwealth House at its third reading in November.

It is proposed to construct a dry dock at Melbourne at a cost of £400,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—In his Budget speech, on September 29, the Treasurer urged that the duplication of the North-Western and Southern Railways should be hurried on, on account of the enormous increase in traffic. The total revenue from railways and tramways for the year was £6,133,000. The revenue was £13,687,000, and expenditure £13,276,000. The public debt of the State on June 30 amounted to £90,307,000. The estimate for the current year's revenue is £14,279,000, and the expenditure at £13,162,000.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The introduction of paper-making in this colony was the chief feature during the quarter. The Governor and Lady Williams travelled to the Grand Falls on October 8, and amid enthusiastic scenes and a large and influential gathering started the industry. In his speech the Governor said that, like many other colonies, Newfoundland, which had been supposed only to possess a fishing industry, now would seem to possess other natural resources, which would greatly enhance its prosperity. Sir Edward Morris, the Premier, said that the opening of the mills—with a water power of 30,000 horse-power, and capable of increase to 50,000 horse-power—would inaugurate a vast and profitable change in Newfoundland.

CANADA.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier received the following

telegram from H.M. the King on his birthday: "Let me express my hearty congratulations on the anniversary of your birthday. I hope you will be spared for many years to come to serve the Crown and the Empire." The Premier replied, expressing his deep gratitude for the message.

The increase in the revenue of the Dominion for the eight months of the fiscal year is £1,628,000.

Mr. T. W. Paterson, of Victoria, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

John Curwen Pottinger, late Public Works Department, Bombay;—E. H. Rodice, B.A., E.I.C.S., C.I.E., Acting-Commissioner of Lucknow;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. Long (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major H. d'E. Vallancey (Zululand 1888, Afghan war 1897, Boer war);—Colonel W. Jones Thomas, J.P., D.L. (Indian Mutiny);—General D. Anderson (Boree Valley, Peshawar 1853);—Major-General F. T. Hobson (China campaign 1860);—Major-General W. French (China war 1860, Afghan war 1878-80);—Colonel W. H. J. Lance (North-West Frontier of India, Crimea 1855-56, Indian Mutiny 1858-59);—Colonel George McBride Davis (Mahsood Wuzereee expedition 1881, Miranzais expedition 1891, Hazara expedition 1891, Waziristan expedition 1894-95, Tirah 1897-98, China 1900, Waziristan 1901-02);—Colonel Dunbar Douglas Muter (Meerut campaign 1857-58, Delhi, Tien-tsin 1860-61);—Captain Thomas Sterrett (Sutlej campaign 1845, Crimean campaign, Jowaki expedition 1878);—Louis Forbes, late Madras Civil Service;—Colonel W. T. Keays, late Bombay Staff Corps (Abyssinian expedition 1867-68);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Bradford Brown (Crimea, Afghan war 1879-80);—Major John Charles Massy Wheeler, of the Indian Army;—Colonel Richard Money Maxwell, Commandant 82nd Punjabis;—Thomas Rustat Hilhouse, of the Bank of Madras;—Peter Samson, I.S.O.;—Ferdinand Baker Baker, of Darjeeling, India;—Major-General William John Ward, late Commandant 8th Bengal Cavalry, Bengal Staff Corps;—Colonel. John Donaldson Cruickshank, Royal (Bombay) Engineers;—William Henry Davies Williams, late Indian Navy;—Lieutenant-Colonel C. K. Crosse (Indian Mutiny);—R. N. Cust, LL.D., J.P.;—Captain G. A. Graham, formerly of the East India Company's Service;—Captain F. C. Boehmer (Jowaki expedition 1877, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Ingram (Mutiny 1857-58);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. J. Crawford, M.D., Indian Medical Service;—Sir Francis O'Callaghan, C.S.I., C.I.E., formerly Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department;—Major-General John C. Charky (Afghan

war 1878-80);—Colonel C. W. H. Evans, D.S.O. (Egyptian war 1882, Nile expedition 1884, Soudan Frontier Field Force 1885, North-West Frontier of India under Sir William Lockhart);—Lieutenant-General J. Worgan (served with the Persian expedition, and was present at the bombardment of Mohumrah);—Colonel the Hon. Charles Dutton (Afghan war);—Colonel F. W. Lukin (Sebastopol, Indian Mutiny);—Deputy-Inspector-General of Fleets and Hospitals Dr. Thomas Seccombe (Kaffir war 1851, Burma war);—Major-General Sir Frederick Solly Flood (North-West Frontier, Indian Mutiny, Oude, Biswarra);—Major F. H. Gregory, at one time Aide-de-Camp to Lord Mayo in India;—Sir William Macpherson, late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta;—Colonel Howard (Bhotan expedition 1865, Perak expedition 1875, Sekukuni 1878, Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant M. H. Beattie, Indian Army;—Rai Prosunna Kumar Mitter, Bahadur, Senior Superintendent of the Finance Department of the Government of India;—Alexander Cumine, C.S.I., late Bombay Civil Service;—Colonel George Perceval Beamish, late 2nd Worcestershire Regiment (36th Foot);—William Goodenough Bayly, late Examiner of Accounts, Public Works Department, India;—Charles Magenis Hogg, late Bombay Civil Service;—William Heartley Newnham, I.C.S.;—H. Hayter Duff, Bengal Police;—Major John Binny Speid, late 23rd Madras Light Infantry and Commandant Hyderabad Contingent;—George Robinson, late of the Indian Civil Service;—Rev. John Bowden Trend, late Chaplain, Madras;—Arthur Parry Thornton, C.S.I., Indian Army (retired), late Resident, Western States, Rajputana;—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Egbert Wimond Bensley, M.D., late I.M.S. (retired) and H.E.I.S.C. (Indian Mutiny Medal);—Simon Nicolson Martin, Bengal Civil Service (retired);—George Robinson Sharpe, at one time District and Sessions Judge at Madura and Calicut.

December 15, 1909.

THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,

APRIL, 1910.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

BY R. E. FORREST.

PART I.

At the meeting of the East India Association on January 27 of this year, Sir Arundel T. Arundel read a paper entitled "Indian Industrial Development," in the absence of its writer, Mr. F. J. E. Spring, C.I.E., "a distinguished Engineer, who has behind him a long and honourable career in the service of the Government of India." Listening to Mr. Spring's views and proposals, we were carried back fifty years, to the time when we had written a paper on this same subject, and with almost exactly the same title, though in character wholly different. Mr. Spring's was an official paper on technical education as bearing on industrial development—it was intended for a conference on "Industrial and Technical Education"—and so, of course, dealt with that subject only. Ours viewed the matter in different aspects. It was written at a different time, in a preceding age, when the throes of the birth of the new industrial system, of that sudden huge development, were still felt, read of—read of in the pages of such different writers as Kingsley, Carlyle, and Charlotte Brontë, when one viewed the working of things through such different eyes as those of Ruskin and Buckle. Let the dead past bury its dead. Very good. But to go back to the past is not only of

interest to oneself in order to see how far one's conclusions and prognostications have been verified and fulfilled, or the reverse, but also of service in enabling us to see whether there has been progress or retrogression. The ultimate aim of this present paper is the same as that of Mr. Spring's—to discuss the subject of industrial and technical education. But we would also bring into it some of those more general reflections and forecastings of that bygone brochure, because I have never seen them connected with the question now in hand, either as being held incorrect—a matter of individual judgment—or as having no bearing on it, which we think they have. We have therefore divided this paper into two parts, which we might have headed Past and Present, but have not done so because the division is not meant to be exact and rigid, because we do not debar ourselves from reference to the present in the first portion, or to the past in the second : the paper divides itself for me into the then and the now, and the bringing of the first down to the second.

Dealing with the heading as a text, the bygone discourse would not have made the customary separation into Firstly and Secondly according to the order of the words in it, but thus—Firstly, Development; Secondly, Industrial. For of course the Development comes first. That is the chief thing to consider. Is any development possible? "All nations have progressed," says the Abbé Dubois, in his invaluable record, "but the Hindoos." That stand-still is the most salient feature in their history. It was so long-continued and so complete. It lasted a thousand years. There had been a movement toward a purer religion, but that had been thrust off by the forces of the old religion of savagery, which has lasted on down to the present time. There had been the writing of books which bore the high names of Epic and Drama; and then, after that, came the writing of no books of any worth whatsoever. What was the cause of the long paralysis? It was a question we had often reflected upon. Was it due to the food and the climate, to which

Buckle assigned such predominant power? There were those who asserted that nothing had been done in India by any indigenous race; that when any race had been long enough in India to be deemed indigenous it had lost the power to produce, subdued by the clime. Was it the religion—the worship of bloodthirsty and obscene deities, male and female; the adoration of symbols and images, grotesque, hideous, horrible, disgusting, foul: the base idolatry enfeebling the mind, corrupting the character, with its all-embracing, strangling tentacles like those of the dread sea monster? Was it the strangling, crushing power of the priesthood held sacrosanct, Divine, even when most tyrannous, greedy, lascivious? Was it due to the incursions of the Mahomedans, to the Mahomedan rule? Was it due to the character of the people, with its much self-satisfaction and its little vigour?

How could men advance whose ideal attitude was the sitting still with crossed legs and folded hands? How could they rise if they held themselves on the topmost summit already?

That old paper went on to consider how the railways would influence the character of the people, directly by their effect on those who travelled by them, indirectly by mitigating and counteracting the adverse influences of food and climate. We shall come to that further on—railways form a main factor in the industrial development of India. But with regard to the inquiry started above as to the cause of the long standstill, we must now leave the old paper and advance beyond the actual time of its writing, which was a little before the year 1861. That was a famine year. It was the famine in which the "Famine Relief," which has now attained so great and noble a form, had its rise. It was a year of drought in the tract between Ganges and Jumna. We had a share in the work of a relief camp. Famines were to loom large in our life. This was the first one we came in personal contact with. But we might almost say that we had seen some of the horrors of the terrible

famine of 1838, by which the people dated for so many subsequent years. The pictures of them were often before my eyes, for I was told them by my parents, who had seen them, been cognizant of them. Frenzied with hunger, men and women fell below the level of beasts. All the sanctities of life vanished. That sense of self-respect which is so high with the mass of the people of India was swept away. A man lost all—his house, his home, his possessions, wife, children, his honour, his humanity. There was no longer any restraint, personal, social, religious, of decency or sense of right—legal? The law was air; who could administer it now? The social fabric had crumbled away. The people were demoralized. The Government stood helpless and paralyzed.

The famine passed under the English rule, as the long tale of former ones had passed under other rulers, viewed as a catastrophe, a visitation, with prayers and supplications: passed with its horrors, its good and evil deeds, its display of noble and ignoble qualities, its dread flights and dread dying at home, with the only mitigation of its horrors by public and private doles, which mitigation showed as a white speck on an enormous black surface—the wide destruction showed how poor was the mitigation—the famine wrought its utmost havoc.

After the famine of 1861 came the terrible one in Orissa in 1866, which wrote its lessons in such huge black characters. Here was application of the principles of political economy, without thought that principles are derived from certain conditions, and are applicable only when the conditions subsist. The local Government held that the proper way of dealing with the lack of food was to leave it to the law of supply and demand by not interfering with private trade, giving it full play. The consequence was a great loss of life, and the rush of the Government to pour in food itself.

Next came the famine of 1869 in Northern India. Then came the new attitude on the part of the Supreme Government of dealing with this directly, promptly—the

enunciation of the order that, if possible, not one life was to be lost by direct starvation.

In this famine the Ganges Canal did good work, such work as it had not been able to do in 1861 from its immaturity. Owing to its valuable work now we were sent from my charge of one of its divisions to deal with the question of a supplementary channel, which, we are happy to say, we were able to enlarge into the making of a new canal; for it has been made, and bears the name of the Lower Ganges Canal, and has done good work in many famines. The hope that this would be the case was one main argument put forward, by ourselves, for its making, notwithstanding difficulties of construction and greatness of cost. Drought and famine had been always more or less in one's thoughts, the possible character of the rainfall a matter of hope and fear at each recurring harvest, but now they were matters of special thought and concern. The question of the long standstill happening to recur to us at this time, it seemed to us that drought and famine furnished the full and all-sufficient answer to it. We had made personal acquaintance with them, had read about them, noted the mention of them in the records of the past, become aware that they were not outside the run of ordinary affairs, but within it, part of it. There was that distant outpost of the Indian Empire, Aden, where it rained only once in four years; there were those western desert and semi-desert regions in India itself where the rainfall was extremely small: but taking the greater part of the surface of the great peninsula over which the rainfall was of a character that had made them and kept them cultivated and populous, in that rainfall the total failure had a part, as had the superabundant supply. The total failure was recurrent.

The Government recognized the periodic character of the droughts, and undertook the task of providing against them and dealing with them when they came. This differentiates the English rule fundamentally from every other that has preceded it. No such view had ever been entertained in any one of them. It was not in the spirit of their time. Here

it was said, "Fate"; there, "The clouds are the chariots of Indra, their over-passage according to his driving." Nor, in those preceding times, had there ever been a Government having command over the whole peninsula, so that there was one powerful central controlling agency to which the condition of all its diverse parts was known, and one could be made to help another. Thus, then, in those ancient times, famines were left to work their havoc to the full. How terrible that was we learn from official documents, from the narratives of travellers who tell of journeying for days through devastated provinces. When we reflected on the nature of that devastation, on the enormous loss of life, animal and human, on the loss of means, on the villages depopulated and the cattle dead, on the terrible loss and the awful misery, on the innumerable ills arising from this breach in the continuity of the life of the people, this, we thought, was the ever-opening chasm in the road of progress. Here was what caused the stoppage, the recoil.

And the pit still gapes. If famines do not now cause stoppage or recoil—stronger powers are arrayed against them—they retard progress. Think of the trouble given in England by unemployment, and then think of the sudden, complete, monstrous unemployment of a famine year in India. All things in a nation hang together. The loss of the buying power of that great multitude of people must seriously affect industry and commerce: the man who upholds them is the buyer. The famines affect the village industries directly, as they affect directly the men employed in them, throw them into the ranks of the unemployed. Can the realm of India be so knit together that a failure of the rainfall in any section of it may come to mean only a slight jar through the whole of it, instead of a terrible crash in that section? This is a question for our second part.

It was considered, in that ancient precursor of this paper, what the results would be of the introduction of

the new great agency of the railways into India. The most powerful engines of transport known, their enormous usefulness in times of dearth was patent. But how would they affect the people of the land, not only at that exceptional period, but in ordinary years? Very greatly, fundamentally, it was held; individually, socially, with regard to their industries and commerce, their manners and customs, their religion. India was the land where the new agency was most needed, would have largest play. It was a land of great distances, of great natural difficulties, wide rivers, high mountain chains, wide-spreading forests, and waste, uninhabited tracts, of great obstacles to personal travel and the transference of commodities. The railways would remove those obstacles. The iron horse would eat up those long distances. He would curtail those long lengths because he went so fast, because he went day and night continuously. The track prepared for his flying course went up the lofty mountains, over the wide rivers. There would be a revolution in trade and commerce. The whole community would be affected. The intellectual faculties, the character of the people, would be quickened, awakened, aroused, stimulated, energized. India was an agricultural country: the area of the markets for its food-stuffs would be enormously expanded.

The mere local traffic apart, of old the trade of India, whether within its own boundaries or without them, was governed by the condition of utmost value in least bulk and weight. This applied to manufactures as well as to natural products. The articles carried in the ancient caravans were the precious metals, precious stones, things made precious by human art, things rich and rare, curiosities, swords and daggers, costly stuffs, drugs and spices, spikenard and balm and myrrh, pigments, and last—but as far as possible from least, owing to its value and large use, domestic and religious—incense. From the fields of India would go spicery, and drugs and dyes and scents, but not the available surplus of maize or millet, rice.

or wheat, of the foodstuffs. That surplus might move about within the limits of easy intercommunication, within the bounds of the circle whose radius was the distance at which the cost of carriage overtook its profit. But most often the surplus would prevail everywhere within those limits, as most probably had done the excellent rainfall to which it it was due ; the areas of similar rainfall are large. Within those limits there would be a fall in the price of those food grains, there would be an increase of consumption. There would be a certain amount of extra storage among the cultivators, with the landlords, with the grain-dealers : more especially the latter, who would be eager to buy at a cheap time. But the most part of the surplus would be disposed of by consumption. The people multiply up to the limit of subsistence. A great number pass their lives very near to it. They are in "fastings oft." They have had to endure in the lean years ; they will enjoy in the fat. An abundant harvest may mean no gain to the cultivator himself because of the lower prices ; but he can consume more, store more. The year of abundance produces a general easiness, a jollity. In greatest number vegetarians, the people subsist chiefly on the produce of the land, on the food-crops : their greater abundance, their greater cheapness, gives them sustenance superior in quality or greater in quantity ; they eat better or eat more. The half-fed would not now stint in their eating. The man who had lived on half-rations would not now continue to do so in order to put by ; his whole nature would rebel against that. His stomach would cry out against it ; he would desire to feel his full manhood again. The children have been ill-fed ; they must be well-fed. This is not a year of insufficiency, but of enough ; they cannot pass it by. There is an upward movement all along the fine gradations that lie between the full-fed, the well-fed, the badly-fed, the half-fed. The never-filled-belly ones rise up to the level of the filled-belly ones, however coarse the filling may be. The man who has had coarse cakes for

five days, and lived on parched gram for the next two, now eats his cakes all the week ; he who has had barley bannocks eats them made of a mixture of barley-meal and wheat-meal ; he who has had the latter now revels in the pure wheaten cake. There is carelessness, there is waste. There are difficulties in the way of the storage of the grain, in the keeping it dry, guarding it against the depredations of animals and men. Everywhere for want of carriage the superabundant produce goes to waste :

“ In vain, with lavish kindness,
The gifts of God are strewn.”

In California peaches are given to the pigs, and this year in England strawberries were ploughed back into the earth. If the superabundance means gain to the consumer, it means loss to the producer. We read in “ Evelyn’s Diary ” an entry to the effect that the farmers could not pay their rents because of a too bounteous harvest. But however disposed of, by fuller, more extended, less restrained consumption, by storage, or by careless waste, the surplus was disposed of within narrow bounds ; in an area defined by certain natural or artificial limits.

So disposed of, the best had not been made of that surplus. Its full value had not been got out of it. India is large. It contains a great many areas differing entirely in climate and soil. While there was that surplus in one place there would be a deficiency in another. The surplus should have gone to supply that vacuum by ordinary flow of commerce. The surplus produce had been sold, not in the best market, but in the worst ; had been sold, not where it would have been high-priced, but where it was low-priced ; had been disposed of, not where it was in greatest demand, but where it was in least demand. Carlyle thundered against supply and demand, but in the supply of wants lies the beneficence of commerce. By being conveyed to the place of most demand the surplus would do the most amount of good. But such conveyance was not easy ; the way between was long ; there were the natural obstacles and

the artificial ones of the barriers of independent, Customs-levying states. The ordinary means of carriage could not be increased at once. There was one special agency for the carriage of grain—that of the Brinjaras; they conveyed it for considerable distances on their droves of little pack-bullocks. The Brinjaras were employed largely in several of our campaigns. But we have never found any mention of them in connection with times of dearth and famine. One thing was that in a campaign they got war prices, and were sure of getting them from the English; dearth prices were high, but they were not sure of getting them. More than this, the bullocks could go only where they could find food for themselves—find pasturage by the way. They could not be taken into regions where the cattle were already dying for want of pasture. There was some carriage of the food-stuffs by water, but it was not large. Their transference took place within not wide limits. The traffic in them was provincial. The characteristic food-stuffs were confined to the localities—the sections of the land—in which they were grown. The railways would produce a condition of things the very reverse of all this. They would supply the means for the conveyance of the food-stuffs with rapidity and certainty throughout the whole of the land. This would mean a revolution in trade and commerce, in the main industry of the land, that of agriculture, in all the industries connected with it; it would mean a great industrial development. And, a point naturally enlarged upon in that former paper, it would mean a great enhancement of the value of the canals. They were of use not only in periods of drought but in ordinary years, by enabling the cultivator to grow better crops, larger crops, a larger surplus.

The direct personal effect of the railways on those travelling by them was considered. It must imbue them with new ideas, awaken new faculties, new feelings, a new sense of power, a new sense of the value of money. In the hurry and bustle of railway travelling, in the rigidity of its rules as to stopping and going on, the restrictions and restraints

of caste in regard to eating, and drinking, and some other things, would have to be relaxed. In the railway carriage the ban of pollution would be removed from the man of low caste. And through caste the railways would have a strong effect on religion.

Object and subject, the outer things and the inner constitution—in this lay the history of man. What relative part have the things we term material and spiritual played in that history? What are man's relations with the outer things? how do they act on him and he on them? Man has dealt wonderfully with them, subdued them, moulded them to his desire, his need. What has not his right hand wrought? "Man is a reed, but a reed that thinks," said Pascal; he is a weak creature, but he is intelligent, and he has a thumb, which enables him to hold tightly or lightly; makes his hand the great instrument of his intelligence. He could grasp and smite with stick or stone. He could use implements which, however rude, gave him that additional power for which he was ever on the lookout, for which he ever made supplication to his gods. Because of the enormous addition to his capabilities made by them man has been defined as the "tool-using animal," and his past history divided into stages according to the material of which his tools were made. Others would rather divide his story by his spiritual condition. In early periods of that story what wonderful things were done, majestic and beautiful things brought into being, by the working of the chisel in the left hand and the mallet in the right; yes, by the chisel and the mallet, and the wondrous human machine, with its Divine fire; but the material wrought with also had its share, without it nothing could have been done. Man writes—that most wonderful act of his, whereby his thought and knowledge and experience are stored and amplified and diffused—writes by means of his muscular force, his thinking and his feeling, his whole bodily composition, his manhood and his godhood; likewise by means of material agencies to write with and upon. Whether material and

spiritual are mere expressions of human thought, distinctions where there is no difference, or one of degree merely; whether instead of the two words it would be better to say higher material and lower material, or higher spiritual and lower spiritual, or call the constituent element mind-stuff, is to pursue the subject beyond our present purpose, which is merely to bring to notice the reflex action upon man himself of the aids and implements, the material agencies he has called into being, an action far beyond his thought or design. How the products of the chisel have reacted upon man in the region of his highest thoughts and feelings, in the making of the images of his gods, in the building of their temples, of his sacred shrines and his grand places of worship! And what a power in the written word! The first great instrument, the plough, the machines for spinning and weaving, the wheel, the boat, the ship, the implements of war, musical instruments, the printing-press, steam-engines, electrical machines, we know what effect all these have had on the lives of men, on the history of different nations, what greater effects they are likely to have, for the action of machines is cumulative and progressive; one machine suggests another and enables it to be made. Man made all these machines, it is true; they are all of his creation. But they make and mould him too. How they have increased his stature, his status, raised him to a higher sphere, made of him a Mercury, a Jupiter Pluvius, a lightning-grasping Jove. They have increased his knowledge, quickened his intelligence, enlarged the scope of his feelings. They have given him a wider, fuller, longer life. They have brought together the uttermost parts of the earth. By greater mutual knowledge they have produced a new feeling of friendliness among the various nations of the earth. Made by man for his own benefit, the action of the machines has not been wholly beneficial. They have done harm as well as good. He has often created a Frankenstein—a monster that enslaves and brutalizes. There is nothing to be said against the honest plough, the needle

and the distaff, the hand-mill, the wheel, which have been of such service to mankind. But there are those who deem that more harm than good has come out of the wine-press ; even from musical instruments.

The printing-press has proved itself injurious in many ways—in ways least thought of, as with reference to that great section of human life with which it is most closely connected, to which it owed its origin—that of letters. Printing has proved itself more the handmaid of trade and commerce than of literature. But whether exerted for good or evil, there is no doubt of the enormous influence of the mechanical agencies, big or small—the steam-hammer or the sewing-needle. That is what we are concerned with here. The wonderful new machinery, the command of the new powers of steam and electricity, have produced a new era in England, a new mental attitude, a new form of character, a great change in domestic, social, and public life, in the religious sphere. An industrial development of the same kind in India would be followed, no doubt, by the same results. But it would be a long time, said that old dissertation, before India could rise to that great height. In all civilized conditions and equipment India was still far behind what England had been when she inaugurated that new industrial era which was to revolutionize the world. She did not possess the same great natural advantages as England enjoyed. She had not the same capital of money or of character. She had not behind her a history of brisk, active, energizing change and advance ; on the contrary, one of a long-continued, a dull and dulling, stagnation. England, from a lower grade, had gone on to a far higher one of civilization ; but India had remained on the border-line between savagery and civilization, remained in contact with the earth, with the animal kingdom ; not risen above them except in the case of a small select minority. She had remained pastoral, agricultural, even in the forest-dwelling, state. She had remained countrified. She had dwelt in the quiet of villages, apart from the briskness of

towns. Her village system had subsisted on, with its stereotyped husbandry and its petrified handicrafts.

Famines have been given as one main cause of want of progress, of retrogression, and mention made of the fetters of caste, of the choking, stupefying, deadening, foul, mephitic miasma of the religion. This last had continued on the same level as in the time of its beginning in the far-back days of barbarism and savagery. It was, as then, of the earth, earthy. In it show large the bull, the tiger, the alligator, the snake, and the qualities of cruelty, of cunning, of deceit, of furious lust, of fierce greed, and blood-thirstiness. Man looms large in all institutions on this earth, not least so in this one of the Hindu religion. He is it, and it is he. It is wholly he and his home; it is of the byre, and the field, and the grazing-ground, and the neighbouring jungle. In it appear supreme the bull and the cow, and the wild animals of the forest, bird, and beast, and fish, and reptile. The fires of the altar are lighted at the hearth. In it are his thoughts and dreams and passions. The deities have their daily bath and food as he has. His own bath is a daily baptism, his own one-cooked meal of the day a daily sacrament. Everything he does possesses a religious significance. He is all taboos. He is bound round with restrictions and restraints. This is what has made change of condition, change of place, so difficult to him. His cooking-place is holy — the holiest of holies. He would rather face any form of torture, any kind of death, rather than violate the rules which prescribe what he shall eat and what he shall not eat. The entrance into his body of any forbidden food would not only make him an outcast among his fellows, but fill him with self-loathing, expose him to the consequences of a deadly sin, make him corrupt body and soul.

At the time of that first writing it was but recently that the sepoys of the Bengal Army had mutinied, thrown away the employment to maintain which they had so often faced death, because they feared a contamination of this kind. On

the sanctity, the purity, of his cup and platter, is the whole structure of the domestic, the social, the religious life of the Hindu reared. Here we have the most remarkable instance of the effect upon man of his own mechanical agencies. In India the special appliances of every trade and calling are adored by those using them, daily before use or on special occasions. In this way the ploughman worships his plough, the woodman his axe, the tailor his scissors, the warrior his sword or spear, the artillery soldiers sacrificed goats to their guns before a battle, during a siege, the money-lender made adoration of his heap of gold and silver coins, the burglar did *poojah* to his pick, the thug to the *roohmal* (handkerchief) with which he strangled, the blacksmith to his big hammer and the silversmith to his little one, the scribe to his pen. But these had not the same dominating influence, not the same ruling and guiding force, as had the vessels connected with eating and drinking, with the great mass of the people, the one single brass platter to eat from, the one single brass cup, the far-famed *lotah*, to drink out of. The great and terrible law of pollution did not apply to them as it did to these.

To understand fully the manners and customs, the domestic and social and religious institutions of the Hindus, you must have been in contact with the conditions by which they were moulded ; felt the smite of the sun ; breathed the air over-loaded with damp, or from which all the oxygen had been burnt out ; felt the foetidness of town and village ; known how that foetidness held sway undisturbed, with ever increasing force for evil, when the air lay motionless for long periods over town and village ; experienced the ill odours ; known the languor ; known the volcanic outburst of disease, the quick-spreading contagion, and the sudden death ; seen the men with elephantiasis and horrible sores and huge tumours ; beheld the lepers hold out fingerless hands for alms ; have come to appreciate the fear of contamination and its possible dread results. You would then understand, if you cared to, how the system of

caste, with its good and evil, its banning and blessing, its injurious exalting, and degrading, its preserving and its arresting power, its armour and shackles, owed its origin and continuance, its enormous force, not merely to the love of power, of self-exaltation, of tyranny in man, but to natural causes also. You would understand how pollution and purification came to be the leading features in the social and religious system, comprehend the division of the people into the "clean" and the "unclean" classes, with an impassable gulf between. You would understand, feel, that if amid this environment a man had only one vessel to eat from, one vessel to drink out of, and they made of a metal easy to be soiled and not easy to clean, he would be very careful who he allowed to drink from that cup, or to dip their hands into that dish with him. The permission to do so would be the great mark of fellowship, of brotherhood; refusal to do so the dread mark of ostracism, of loss of caste. A man would be very careful, too, whom he allowed to smoke from his hookah; and as the eating together is more rare, and the offering of a smoke and a drink of water the more common form of civility, "Hookah panee bund"—that is to say, "Hookah (and) water stopped"—is the usual formula of the much feared ban—greatly feared because to the Hindu his caste is his life; it governs his present existence and that which is to come. They both rest upon it; in it for him the spiritual and the material are commingled.

Incense connotes evil smells. It was one of the chief articles of commerce in the old days in the East. It was burnt lavishly on the Babylonish altars in order that the fragrant, costly smoke might reach to the gods high up. King Akbar had it burnt throughout his palace. There was a great collection of men and animals within the circuit of the walls of his new great fort at Agra. When first we knew that city English people did not care to pass through it because of the character of its atmosphere. On a small plain in its vicinity, to which the people of that side of the

city resorted as a latrine, there was a veritable dung-hill, a mound of filth ; from it were formed the melon-beds on the sand-banks in the river ; but still the mound grew. Everywhere in the old continents, in Asia and in Africa, are the ruins of great cities. Often these were destroyed by robber hordes, also called "the armies of great conquerors." Another cause was the using up of the available supply of firewood. Not long ago we read a statement in a paper that the present city of Cabul might have to be abandoned on this account. But under the old conditions of life the mere congregation on one spot of a great multitude of human beings with their attendant animals had in it the element of destruction by reason of the accumulation of filth and the consequent poisonous pollution of the earth, the air, the water, and the breeding of various forms of inimical insect life. But we have to do with the live cities, and not with the dead. In Bombay the massing together of men of primitive races with primitive habits produced an accumulation of filth about their huts which observers designated "appalling," produced, as a consequence, the plague, which has extended its ravages so far beyond its place of origin. When we knew it first Delhi was notorious for its insanitary condition, of which the "Delhi sores" gave horrid token. In Calcutta the city of physical as of moral filth, cholera was endemic. In Europe, too, the great cities, the palaces of kings, were the hot-beds of disease—of dreadful disease—small-pox, leprosy, the black death, the plague. But in the East the hot-beds were more hot, more prolific of the inimical germ and insect life. The plague of flies and the plague of lice, which in Egypt were numbered with the rivers of blood and the slaying of the first-born, hold dread sway in India too, as any bazaar, the side streets of any town or village, show you. To the causes that led to the keeping off of the profane, the unclean, vulgar, should have been added the fear of receiving from them some horrible form of insect life, such as those that burrow under the skin, or produce the itch—the flea, the bug, the greatly-dreaded lice, of several

kinds and species. With all these things and the heat, the dust, and the sweat, it is obvious that cleanliness would be greatly desired and approved and commended. Purification forms a leading feature in the social and religious organizations. It is enjoined for a vast number of times, and seasons, and occasions, and purposes. It is of great efficacy in certain holy rivers, greater in certain superior holy places on those rivers, greatest in those superior holy places in certain years. It is performed at the village tank or well. It spreads out through the years and through each day. It is of various degrees, from the washing of the hands to the cleansing of the whole person. It is performed with various substances, as sand, water, the urine of the cow. It is performed in some extraordinary ways, of which one will be mentioned farther on. The utensils of metal are scoured continually with earth or sand, purified by fire. If at Delhi, Agra, or Cawnpore you happen to pass by the spot on the banks of the Jumna or Ganges to which the Hindus come down for the morning bathe, you would observe the Brahmins seated on their little wooden platforms to perform their part in the purification, the barbers performing their part—the shaving of the scalp, the chin, the arm-pits, the paring of the nails of the hands and feet. You would notice that the shaving is performed without the use of soap. And so we come in contact again with the play and interaction of physical and mechanical agencies and forces. What! All this about soap! Yes; about the want of it. Here is a thing that effects a vast multitude of people—several hundred million people. For the want of a soap acceptable and permissible for personal use the razor became the great instrument of purification. Shaving became the great sign and symbol of cleanliness. The perfectly clean man was shaven all over; not only on head and face, but everywhere, absolutely without reserve. The priest had to be always in this condition. The tonsure of the Christian priest in the West is a mark of the more extensive removal of the hair once enjoined and practised in that as

in other priesthoods. That perfect cleanness has to be attained in all the great purifications, such as those on the occasion of a death, the visit to a sacred shrine, and so on. The ordinary daily domestic purifications, which have to be performed between one sunrise and the next, are very numerous; they are called for by every bodily function. The application of the razor to all parts of the person is not confined to men alone; it renders its full service in the case of both the sexes. By this need and habit attention is drawn continually to the least exhibited and spoken-of parts of the person. This must effect the chastity of thought and speech, lead to much prurient talk and lewd jesting, lower the level of modesty, and decency, and morality. It is not a subject to be pursued, but one necessary to bring to notice in connection with the subject of the action of its mechanical appliances on the life of a community. We are told that the barbers are the great intermediaries in matters of love and marriage. The great kings Babar and Humayun have made solemn record of the date and place of the first use of the razor on their youthful chins. When the late Ameer of Cabul founded his English superintended workshops, the first things they were set to manufacture were rifles and ammunition, next candles and soap.

To the above has to be added consideration of the direct influence on modesty, decency, and morality of the worship of the foul image the *lingam*, the representation of the act of coition, of the mere presence of it in the house, throughout the whole open land. Of such influence we may judge by the following quotation from Sir George Birdwood's well-known book.

"If a Hindu has to undergo purification, one of the necessary rites is to step through the *yoni*, the mystic symbol of female power. This is often done by sitting for an instant on the scar of a tree bearing a similitude to the sacred symbol. Sometimes the scar forms a true matrix, or the cavity may penetrate the whole thickness of the tree,

when the Hindu will step in and out of it, or, what is holiest, will pass right through it, in sign of his regeneration. But when the two Brahmins whom Raganatha Rao, the Mahratta Prishwa, sent to England in 1780 returned to India, they were compelled to pass through a *yoni* made of the finest gold before they could be re-admitted into caste."

What a condition of mind and character !

In the paper to which I have gone back the thought was of the influence of the products of industry on caste and religion; in this paper it would be the reverse, the influence of caste and religion on the industrial arts, the industrial development.

In that dissertation of long ago it was considered to what extent the substitution of vessels of china and glass for those of unbaked clay and brass in use among the mass of the people, silver being used by the very rich only, vessels of materials so much less liable to impurity, whose purity or impurity could be so easily seen, so fully known, whose purity could be so easily and so fully restored, would have on the system of caste with its far-reaching effects? Would it lead to a loosening of its extreme rigidity? On the plains of Northern India stand conspicuous village crowned mounds, which have risen up on the foundation of the earth dug out to form a lake or mere, of which in many cases the mound forms the dam; risen up by the slow but unceasing accumulation through the ages of many materials, the blown dust so thick at times, the fall of leaves, the washing down of the earthen walls of the huts, the sweepings out of the houses, the ashes from the hearths, the fragments of bricks and tiles, the remains of old and broken things, the accumulations of the refuse heaps; but, most conspicuous of all, the potsherds, the broken pottery, and this not only because of its lastingness, but because of the enormous amount of the breakage, which is not only accidental, but deliberate, caste-enjoined. In an Indian village the village potter is kept ever at work, for the products of his industry are continually being destroyed. By reason of their extremely small value, their easy and

irremediable soiling, many vessels are thrown away after one use only. There are numerous domestic occurrences which necessitate the throwing out and breaking of all the vessels of this kind in the house. The upward rise of the Indian villager in the use of articles of this class, the ascent from pottery to earthenware, the technical division being porcelain, earthenware, pottery, would mean a fundamental change in his condition; a great domestic, social, economic, and religious change. Such substitution has always meant a revolution. It has taken place elsewhere in the East. It is very curious to read the history of the ceramic art as affecting the farthestmost East, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the other isles, Siam, China, Japan. To vessels whose glaze was of so superior an order as to be impervious to all corrupting, corroding influences, a divine power was often attached, their possession greatly coveted. It came within our own experience to witness the great delight of a village house-wife on being presented with an ordinary apothecary's gallipot, and this long before we became aware that these articles used once to figure among the East India Company's consignments of goods to India.

There is but one other matter dealt with in that ancient paper that we have to recur to. It was the sad case of the Indian weaver, which then aroused much commiseration. The rising flood of machine-made cotton goods from England threatened him with drowning. It is not an agreeable process to undergo or witness. The fierce anger and despair of the old hand-loom weavers in England, on whom the flood fell in fullest volume and in narrow, confined space, the sufferings of them and their families, had moved one greatly in one's youth; they had been portrayed by some of our greatest writers. One witnessed the ever-increasing rise of that flood as the communication with England improved, that improvement rising to a very high pitch with the opening of the Suez Canal. The rise was most visible in that ancient city of rule and commerce,

that great trade centre, Agra. It was the seat of the manufacture of a special kind of cotton cloth, much used by the women of that region as a material for their petticoats. Now came the English cloth, better, cheaper, to supersede this. The local weavers suffered. They were in considerable numbers, inhabited a special quarter called "The Weavers' Wynd"; their homes were ancestral; they were loath to remove elsewhere, to places to which the English goods could not so easily reach. We mourned their hard lot. Then we removed from that city, became engrossed in official duties which led to our living almost wholly amidst the fields. Moving about for some five or six years in the same area, one became very familiar with its features—its open features—even though it was a large one, and noted any change. There were two marked ones: the appearance in the villages of brick—houses? No, not houses—temples; and the appearance in the fields of men in white clothing. One saw it in one's own clothing in the bales of the "kuprawallahs," the native cloth-merchants; in the clothing of those about one, Englishmen and Indians. The wadded jackets worn by both in the cold weather were now left off altogether by the English, and worn less and less by the Indians. Mr. McKillop was renowned (locally) as the last Judge who sat on the bench in wadded trousers. A foolish remembrance, a foolish record. Not so; that wadded suit was a sign of the old India, as the neat, light, easy tweed suits that ousted it were of the new.

If the sad case of the Indian weaver was recognized and mourned, as was that of the hand-loom weaver in England, so also had it to be pointed out in his case that unless a nation was content to remain stationary, never to progress, to rise, content to lie stranded on the shores of Time, such dislocations of existing circumstances, with their attendant shakings and troubles and sufferings, were to be looked for; that against the sufferings of a class had to be set the gain of the whole community.

So much—too much, perhaps—for the subjects dealt

with in that old essay; the subjects dealt with are still young. We would add to the above a few recollections in the same field of the industrial arts. The condition of these was similar to what it was everywhere in the old days of hand industry—excellent in the case of articles of luxury, very poor in the case of those of necessity; the specially prepared tools for the former effective, the tools for the ordinary, less costly, articles ineffective. Let the reader turn down the top corner of this page a little, and then put it back again. That little triangle would represent the making and use of the articles of excellent, sometimes super-excellent, manufacture—the beautiful textile fabrics, the rich embroideries, the beautiful carved work in wood or stone, the rich enamels, the beautiful work in the precious or other metals; the rest of the page represent, give the proportion, of the use and manufacture of the common articles, of the scanty and coarse clothing, of the blanket in place of the shawl, of the lac and pewter jewellery in place of that of gold and silver, of the sun-dried earthenware vessels, of such very small value that they were continually being cast out and broken, as distinguished from those of brass, or silver, or gold. Leaving aside the isolated very fine work carried out in a town or city here and there, the ordinary work throughout the countryside, even in the towns and cities—the woodwork, metal-work, leather-work, the weaving, the sewing, the pottery, and all the rest—was very rough. Everyone felt the effect of this. How rough was the locally-made furniture in our houses! If you wanted a good table, or chairs, or a wardrobe, or pair of boots or shoes, or a saddle, or harness, or cutlery, or crockery, you had to get them from Calcutta, or Bombay, or England. But the primitiveness—the primeval primitiveness—of the industrial arts was brought home to the officers of the Irrigation Department, who had to adapt their mechanical agencies, even in the construction of the large canals, the works of supply, but most so in the case of the minor channels, the works of distribution, to the condition

of those arts and crafts. Their machinery, in the shape of gates, and shutters, and sluices, and so on, had to be of a character that admitted of repair in the workshops of the neighbouring villages ; therefore rough and simple. The same consideration governed the construction of the flour-mills. These were of the most simple, direct-action type, such as were used by the Romans and other nations of antiquity. The mill-stones were not of the class used in England, but simply those used in every household, and worked by hand by the women. These were of soft sandstone, which wore down very fast with the quicker revolutions in the water-mills ; this not only made the cost of the grinding greater, but often threw in the flour a quantity of ground stone, which must have been deleterious. Whenever any schemes were brought forward for the utilization of the enormous quantity of water-power going to waste on the Ganges Canal, it was set aside on that score—the difficulty of repairing or renewing injured parts of high-class machinery. They were held before their time. And, indeed, we remember a steam-roller, which an enthusiastic officer had introduced on his road, lying derelict in a ditch. Things hold together, the character of a people, their physical, mental, and moral condition : the soil, the climate, the material resources, the means of communication, the political conditions, the neighbouring with civilized or uncivilized nations, their religion, their arts and industries, their commerce, their garnered wealth in the shape of works of public utility. There are grades of civilization. To pass, to really transform, from a lower to a higher grade in the case of a huge population, of an old-established nation, must be slow and gradual ; for there is so much—everything—to be changed. And best so. You cannot lever up a nation. But circumstances have forced it upon us to try and do that in India. Such a process must produce disturbance and dislocation. People like quiet, especially in hot, languorous climes. “Leave us alone ; Time driveth onward fast.” (Do you see any analogy between

the steam-roller in the ditch and your educational system in India? some may ask. No; we think that system, with all its errors, especially of machinery, has done great things.) But whatever the shakings, the disturbance of the sleeper, there is no doubt of the heave-up. To give some instances from one's own experience only. The use of well foundations where the structure has to rest on sand stands to the credit of the Indian builder; in the construction of the works on the Ganges Canal, 1842 to 1854, these had been built and sunk in the long-followed Indian way; in the construction of the Lower Ganges Canal, 1872 to 1884, the form was improved, and the steam-engine came into play in the sinking, with great advantage. Here was a true development. Here was a passage into a new era: a new part of a new whole. Railways permitted the employment of stone on the first larger canal; without this the remarkable feat of keeping the great body of water it carried in sure, continuous flow could hardly have been accomplished. When we entered the beautiful valley of the Dehra Dhoon, to begin our official career there, in 1856, we did so through a pass in the Siwalik Range, along the winding path which crossed and recrossed the torrent which flowed down the pass continually, in a litter borne on the shoulders of men; a slow, laborious journey, and in the season of the rains even a dangerous one. When we passed out of the valley six years afterwards it was in a stage carriage, drawn by horses. We had passed from the old world into the new, from a very early stage of civilization into the newest, for we never had occasion afterwards to journey in litter or palanquin. We had lost touch of that very ancient phase of human existence of which portage is the note, in which man is the beast of burden. We remember the picture of the King of Dahomey taking his ride on the back of one of his subjects, and we remember the image of one of the Hindu deities, whose name I forget: he rides on a man, not pick-a-back, like the ebon King, but astraûdle, the man being bent double. The god

sits very jauntily. This image indicates the very archaic stage of human society in which the Hindu pantheon had its rise, its formation ; the features of which stage still subsist so largely in India in habits, modes of worship, mental condition, very much by reason of the conservative force of that pantheon and the religious system connected with it. Though the carriage of a palanquin for short distances in a town may not be very hard work, that of carrying a heavily-laden litter over the stages of a journey was, as was evidenced by the staggering gait of the bearers, the frequent change of shoulders, the terrible weals on those shoulders. Three or four years ago we read that it was found very difficult to find bearers for the newly-organized Ambulance Corps. What we want so much in India is observers to record such changes, note and mark their bearings and significance. The above fact is indicative of the passing out from a mode of living which in the present day is to be found among savage nations only. We may heartily welcome the decay of this most ancient native industry.

When in the Dehra Dhoon we were engaged, in addition to our proper canal work, in the making of a road between the towns of Dehra and Hurdwar. This superseded the old and ancient forest track. Four or five years ago a railway superseded the road. There you have the steps of the great development ; the track, the road, the railroad, the being carried by men, drawn by horses, whisked along by steam.

Let the reader look at a map of the Doâb, and see how thickly it is scored by the lines of roads and railroads and irrigation channels. Of all these there was nothing but the line of the Eastern Jumna Canal and of a bit of the Grand Trunk Road to mark on that map when first I knew that tract. The vast multitude of Indian artisans and workmen of every grade and class employed on all these works, and similar ones all over the land, employed in Government and railway and private workshops in our

military arsenals and foundries, in the mints, in all the various industries in active play at all the great seaports, have been learning the use of new tools and implements, of new appliances, of machinery, learning the methods as well as the power of organized industry. Everyone cries out for Indian "captains of industry," but the rank and file must come first; it is from their midst that the captains will arise.

There has been a great deal of writing lately on the subject of the industrial development of India. From them it would appear as if that development had only just presented itself to the writers as a very desirable thing: that it must be called into being *instantly* by means of technical schools, multiplied regardless of cost. This is a matter to be considered more fully in the Second Part. But the industrial development of India began long ago—began, in company of other developments, with the full extension and firm founding of our rule, with the establishment of a strong central authority; of peace and security; with the opening out of the means of communication, the production of a freely flowing internal commerce; with the inauguration of a reign of law and justice; with good, settled systems of administration; with the establishment of great public services, military and civil, in which a multitude of Indians earn an adequate, an affluent, a certain subsistence for life; with the rise of a new middle class, consisting of those servants of the State, of lawyers, doctors, journalists, merchants, traders, manufacturers, contractors; with a diffusion of wealth never before known; with the rise in the purchasing power of the whole community; with the appearance, in enormously increased number, and with greatly increased power of acquisition, of the buyer, on whom the existence of all industries depends.

During the fifty-five years of our own observation, we have seen nothing but a continuous development. We turn to the greatest industry of all, coming first to mind not only

as greatest, but because of our own humble share in its advance, and what a development is there—what a marvellous development! Who could have dreamt in the days when the heavy food-stuffs had but a small circle of diffusion, when their carriage was so restricted in quantity and distance, of India taking her place among the food-producing countries of the world, taking fourth place as a producer of wheat? We refer to the great industry of agriculture, of course. Science and scientific training—who would say a word against them? It was by and through them that the canals, and railroads, and steamships, that rendered that agricultural expansion possible, were constructed; but, on the other hand, no technical school could have opened the door of the entrance of India into the new industrial system as did the digging of her first coal-pit. Look at the great cities of Bombay and Calcutta—cities of our own rule, cities so large and fine—has not there been an industrial development there, as well as a political, and social, and commercial, and educational, and religious, and scientific, and administrative development? And now, in the historic Doâb, once known so well by us, any kind of machinery desired may be employed on the canals. The blank space has been filled up. It is intersected by railways; there are manufactories, foundries, workshops, public or private, large and small, everywhere. Special mention has been made in official publications of the great improvement in the village workshops. But we are trenching too much on the next portion of this paper. We have to dwell on the existing condition of things there. As in Part I, we have dealt most with the past, in Part II. we have to deal most with the present and the future.

CO-OPERATIVE BANKS.

AN OBJECT-LESSON FROM INDIA.

THE Council of the East India Association desire to call particular attention to the following very interesting account of co-operative banking in India, taken from a recent issue of the *Morning Post*.

The emphasis laid by Mr. Balfour recently on a constructive agricultural policy, combined with co-operative credit and organization, is likely to bring to the front the great and hopeful problem of the application of co-operative effort in British agriculture. Co-operation more than anything else is responsible for the strong position of our greatest rival on its agricultural side. It was in Germany that the Raiffeisen Banks began, and they now spread like a system of life-giving arteries over rural Germany. In Italy an imitation of the German system has enabled the peasant to support the occasionally extravagant ambitions of his Government. Denmark is one vast agricultural co-operative society, and is in consequence able to force Danish eggs and butter upon the British breakfast-table. Agriculture in Holland is largely co-operative. The movement has made of recent years considerable progress in Ireland. Owing to her magnificent system of joint-stock banks Scotland has not so much felt the need of co-operative credit, but in England credit is absolutely essential if the small holding is to have any real chance, and co-operation is the way to get it. It is commonly said that the English farmer is too conservative a person to adopt such new methods. It will be helpful, therefore, in dealing with this argument, to show how a far more conservative person than the Englishman has eagerly welcomed the co-operative system. It may not be known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that, owing to the efforts of the Indian Government, co-operative

village banks have spread with extraordinary rapidity over India in the last few years, and in many districts have actually lowered the rate of interest on agricultural loans.

THE INDIAN CULTIVATOR AND THE USURER.

For generations the Indian peasantry have been in the grip of the money-lender. Before the days of British rule the evil was probably not so great, for in those times every village was almost a republic, and no doubt took the law into its own hands when the money-lender became too much of a tyrant. Moreover, as taxes were usually paid in kind, the need for ready money was not then so great. The British Government, however, with its enormous benefits of peace, law, and order, introduced also the monetary system and protected the money-lender from the violence of the infuriated villagers. The Indian peasant is an excellent cultivator, but he has never understood money and the allied problems of credit. He has, therefore, got himself into the grip of the usurer. To get money he pledged his crops, and when his crops were not enough he pledged his land. The usurer made money at both ends. He bought the wheat in the ear when it was cheapest, disposed of it when it was dearest, and sold part of it back again to the peasant as seed-grain. He charged interest which sometimes rose to 100 per cent., and he even, when he found it was safe, began to foreclose and take possession of the land. The peasant thus often became a mere tenant living from hand to mouth, with no reserve, either of grain or money, to ward off famine.

The Indian Government has passed law after law to stop these evils, but it has found by bitter experience that it can neither prevent the indebtedness of the peasant nor the alienation of land. *Takavi*, or a Government system of loans, was devised as a cure, but, though they have been available for thirty years or so, the peasantry have not yet got over their distrust of a system which in their eyes only

places them in the hands of new money-lenders, the native subordinates in the Government service. They may be driven to *Takavi* by famine, but it is doubtful if the system will ever be popular, and, indeed, universal indebtedness to the Government would have evils almost as great as universal debt to the money-lender. When Lord Cromer, then Major Baring, was in India as Financial Secretary, he took a deep interest in an attempt to found a private bank on philanthropic lines. Sir William Wedderburn and others worked hard for this scheme, and the Government of India decided to liquidate debts over an experimental area so as to give the bank a fair start, while it was to have special advantages in the way of remission of stamp duty and recovery through Revenue officers. The Secretary of State refused to sanction this scheme. Laws have also been passed from time to time to stop land-alienation, but such legislation is obviously retrograde. It keeps the cultivator a child in economic matters, and, moreover, it is often impossible to prevent evasion.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT.

All these schemes failing, then, the Indian Government was almost forced to the alternative of encouraging co-operative credit among the people themselves. As early as 1892 the Madras Government appointed Mr. Nicholson (now Sir F. A. Nicholson) to report on the question, and his report was encyclopædic and extremely useful in the way of attracting attention to the co-operative banking systems of Europe. In the Punjab two Civil Servants, Mr. Maclagan and Captain J. G. Crosthwaite, started a little grain bank. The members deposited the grain at harvest-time; it was sold when prices rose, and the money was lent to members at low rates. It was, however, in the United Provinces that the master mind arose that solved the problem. Here Mr. H. Duperuex, a Civil Servant with a strong bent for finance, wrote an admirable little

book, in which he showed how the German co-operative systems might be adapted to Indian needs. He pointed out that the Indian village has been from time immemorial a co-operative society. The co-sharers, where this system exists, own the land in common, and are accustomed to be jointly responsible for revenue. The affairs of the village are managed by the village council, and, though the British Government have too often followed a policy of encouraging individualism, this ancient communism is still strong. Upon this village system Mr. Duperuex suggested that the Government should graft the Raiffeisen Banks of Germany. These banks, it need hardly be explained, are close societies of villagers who pool their entire credit, and thereby obtain cheap money from outside, which they lend only to members at a slightly higher rate of interest than they pay. As the loans are only made for reproductive purposes, and are amply safeguarded in a number of ways, there is hardly ever, out of the thousands of such banks in Europe, a case of failure, and by these means the German peasant has been delivered out of the hands of the money-lender and turned into a thriving farmer. Mr. Duperuex also suggested that to finance these small banks town banks on another German co-operative system might be started, and to these the village banks might be linked, thus forming circles through which money would pass from town to country and from country to town. Sir Antony MacDonnell gave Mr. Duperuex the task of starting the system in the North-West Provinces, as they then were, and soon Mr. Duperuex had several little banks running merrily. They worked much in the normal German fashion, the members doing their own business, which was very simple, in a perfectly efficient way. Moreover, they soon began to show their trust in the system by depositing their savings with the bank. Thus success on a small scale was proved, and Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy, presided over the passing of an Act which legalized the system.

THE MOVEMENT SPREADING RAPIDLY.

This was the beginning, and it was only eight years ago. Now the movement is spread over India, and is still spreading with wonderful rapidity. In 1908 there were no fewer than 1,201 village banks, with a membership of 93,200, and 149 urban banks on co-operative lines, with 55,500 members. The grand total of their working capital amounted to 44 lakhs of rupees, or well over a quarter of a million sterling. The rate of progress may be estimated by the fact that in 1907 there were only 89 town and 740 village banks, with 23 lakhs of capital. How far the movement is from being merely a Government enterprise will be seen from the fact that of the 44 lakhs, only 6½ represent State aid of any kind, over 9 lakhs consist of share capital held by the members themselves, and 18 lakhs are composed of ordinary business or private loans. In twelve months the members deposited 4 lakhs, and the total deposits of members held by the banks amounted in 1908 to over 9 lakhs, while the reserve funds were estimated at 78,000 odd rupees. The principal function of the Government was to get people interested in the movement at the beginning, and to give them afterwards the benefit of free Government auditing. The provisional figures for 1909 have just come to hand by the Indian mail, and show even more amazing progress. The total number of co-operative banks, urban and rural, is 2,008—that is, an increase of 658 over last year—and the number of members has increased from 149,160 to 184,897. The working capital has nearly doubled, standing now at 81 lakhs of rupees. A very satisfactory feature in the figures for 1909 is that State aid in the way of working capital has increased by only a few thousand rupees (from Rs. 6,51,816 to Rs. 6,86,143), while loans from private persons more than doubled, rising from 12½ to 25 lakhs. This shows that the banks have established themselves in business confidence, and are able to raise their money in the open market.

CAPITAL AND LOYALTY.

When we remember how conservative and distrustful the Indian peasant is, and how, since the beginning of time, he has been accustomed to no other system of banking than an earthenware pot buried under the floor, or silver bangles on the ankles of his women-folk, we are able to estimate the amazing nature of this revolution. It is plain that where these societies exist money is no longer buried or melted down, but is used, in the way capital should be used, as the seed-grain of a future financial harvest. Who can estimate the amount of hoarded wealth in India, or the benefit which will accrue to the people when this treasure is dug up and used for the benefit of agriculture and industry? If the movement goes on at the present rate, the prospect is almost staggering in its possibilities. We shall have an organization spread over India whose members and capital will alike be numbered in millions. It will be the finest weapon ever forged to fight famine and the agitator. Fears have, indeed, been expressed that these organizations may get into the hands of the disloyal, but the sounder view is that there is no better way of making a man loyal than to make him a capitalist, since the conservative forces in society are always those which have something to lose.

I. D. C.

THE KINGDOMS BEYOND THE SEAS.*

BY SIR LEWIS TUPPER, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

DR. G. R. PARKIN, in his recently published *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald*, quotes a letter from that most distinguished Canadian to Lord Knutsford, written in 1889, and lamenting that a great opportunity was lost in 1867, when the British North America Act, establishing the Dominion of Canada, was under consideration. In the Canadian draft of the Bill United Canada was declared to be an auxiliary Kingdom. The title was changed from Kingdom to Dominion because Lord Derby, then Foreign Minister, "feared the name would wound the susceptibilities of the Yankees." The reason seems to have been a very bad one. Not only has the citizen of the United States no shadow of right to object, but if the objection was to kingship in the North American Continent, facts have overruled it ever since the days of Cartier and Champlain. There was in 1867 an English Queen, and there is now an English King, of all British territory in North America—the King or Queen for the time being of the United Kingdom. Sir John Macdonald regretted the alteration in the draft, and the reason he gave was that he felt almost sure that, had it not been made, the Australian Colonies would have applied to be placed in the same rank as "The Kingdom of Canada."

So far as this reason included the desirability of federation—possibly as a condition precedent to Imperial Confederacy—it has been accepted and discounted by events. The Australian Commonwealth came into existence on January 1, 1901. But the Commonwealth and the Canadian Dominion are not the only rising or already risen nations within the Britannic Realm. In 1907 New Zealand was given, by Letters Patent, the status of a

* Reproduced, by permission, from the *British Empire Review* for December, 1909.

dominion, though the term, as applied in this case, cannot be said to have quite the same significance as in the case of Canada. And now, since the passing of the South Africa Act, 1909, we are to have, under a not very felicitous phrase, the Union of South Africa.

Here, then, is a terminological anomaly. It will probably be admitted, differences of extent, population, and internal constitution notwithstanding, that the similarity of the relations between the self-governing parts of the Empire beyond the seas and the Mother-Country is such as to justify a like designation for all. Yet we have, though not quite in the same sense, two Dominions, one Commonwealth, and one Union. The anomaly leads either to unnecessary verbiage or to the technical, if always condoned, error of referring to all four nascent or existing nations, when mentioned collectively, as the Dominions.

In the use of that term there is another and more important ambiguity. By proclamation under the Royal Titles Act, 1901, the title of His Majesty is declared to be "Edward VII., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." Here the term "Dominion" includes the Crown Colonies. In this connection I may quote what was said by Sir Joseph Ward at the last Imperial Conference. Speaking for New Zealand, he regarded the Crown Colonies as governed and controlled by the British Government, with the advice of the Colonial Governor. "Our self-governing countries," he said, "are not in the same position. We are responsible to our own people, and govern ourselves. . . . I think the term 'Colony,' so far as our countries are concerned, ought to cease, and that the term ought to apply to the Crown Colonies purely, and that those of us who are not at present known as Dominions or Commonwealths should be known as States of the Empire, or some other expressive word, so as to make a distinction as between the Crown Colonies and the

self-governing Dependencies." The Commonwealth is already a federation of States, and there is the obvious objection to the use of the term "Dependencies," in that it confuses the really dependent with the autonomous portions of the Britannic Realm.

The mere correction of these anomalies and the removal of a literary inconvenience would not, of course, by themselves be a sufficient reason for conferring upon Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa the dignity and style of a Kingdom. The concession would tend to dispel popular ignorance of various kinds and degrees. In this country there would be a more vivid realisation of what these great communities are in themselves and of the true character of their connection with the British Crown. Sir Wilfred Laurier struck the right note when, referring to the Governments of these countries, he said, at the Imperial Conference of 1907: "I suppose we are all His Majesty's Governments." The claim was admitted without dissent, and the first resolution of the Conference was amended accordingly. But, to go no higher, I wonder how many Board-school teachers and pupils would appreciate the assertion of the unity of the Empire that underlay Sir Wilfred Laurier's remark? Or, to go to different races and to much lower strata in the diverse social formations of the Realm, might not the proclamation of the self-governing Kingdoms of King Edward beyond the seas reach and inform uncultured tribal communities, unable to grasp the idea of Empire, but capable of understanding what it is to have a King? At all events, such a proclamation might correct mistakes like that lately mentioned in the *Times*—of a native servant in the Orange Free State who believed that General Botha was King of South Africa. His master tried to disabuse him, but apparently with little success, for the servant said he had been in the Transvaal and had there heard so.

To recognise the new or coming nations as Kingdoms would make no constitutional change, and would tend, not,

as might be superficially conjectured, to separation, but to closer union. As I have implied, these nations already have a King. To proclaim them Kingdoms would strengthen a powerful force of cohesion, because it would emphasise the accepted fact of allegiance to the Crown, itself a symbol of the unity of Empire. If we look abroad, we see that Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Prussia herself, are all joined in the "eternal union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people," though each of these is itself a Kingdom. Of course, no one would suggest that the dignity and style of a Kingdom should be conferred except with the free and full assent of the community concerned. Nor would anyone, whose opinion upon such a point is of any value, suppose that any Dominion would desire to set up a King of its own. The alternative to allegiance to the British Crown would be a Republic. But if assent to the style of a Kingdom—to be ascertained with delicacy and in confidence—were full and free, this would be an impressive sign that there was no wish to quit the British Empire and establish independent Republics. Moreover, the grant of the dignity would be a gracious recognition of the services rendered by our friends in the South African War; and, in the case of those who were then our enemies, would set a royal seal of amnesty and trust upon the written Constitution lately completed.

No doubt it would be necessary to pass a short Act, declaring that references to the Dominion or Commonwealth or Union, as the case might be, should be construed, when the case so required, as references to the Kingdom. This is not to be regretted, for the necessity would insure that the British Parliament, as representing the people of these islands, should pronounce its verdict on the alteration.

And there is, again, an opportunity which perhaps should not be missed. The time to proclaim the new Kingdoms would be when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales opens the first Parliament of South Africa.

THE EMPIRE'S DEBT TO THE PLANTER.*

BY A. E. DUCHESNE.

THE British Empire is such a vast collection of widely scattered and diversely constituted dominions that it offers every possible variety of occupation to its citizens. There is very little apparent affinity between the spruce inhabitant of our Belgravian quarters and the boundary rider of the blue-grass region of Queensland. The learned professor of the older University would seem to have little in common with the West African prospector or the Borneo tobacco man. The visitor from the North-West territory of our Canadian Dominion presents very obvious contrasts both of physical appearance and mental horizon to the City clerk. Yet all these are of one blood. All have a common ancestry. All owe and proclaim an undivided allegiance to the one Sovereign. Beneath the local accent, the local manner, the local trend of thought may be discerned in each the British spirit, the British idiosyncrasy, the British love of the Homeland. So widely scattered are our British families that it is not uncommon to find one brother a contented holder of a District Railway season-ticket, whilst another is a miner in Coolgardie, and yet a third is to be found among that small band who uphold in the East the honourable traditions of British enterprise or British justice.

Among the most important, as it is the most interesting, of our dominions is the vast Indian Empire. Here we have conditions adverse to European colonization, so that we have an entire absence of those hardy settlers of British race who have made Canada and Australia. There is room for the Briton in India, but it is rather as director and organizer than as a manual labourer that he finds scope for his energies.

* For discussion on this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

One of the most important British communities in India, as in Ceylon, is that of the planter. Scattered in various parts of the peninsula, from Travancore in the south to Assam in the north-east and Kangra in the north-west, we find the planter, drawn from almost every class, from the son of the official or army man to the sturdy Scotch P.G. However much they differ in origin and early training, they are alike in their devotion to their work; in their determination to wrest from the soil the best of its products; in their loyalty to the Empire; and in their genial and kindly hospitality, which renders every planter *bon camarade* not only to his fellows, but also to the officials of the district, or the stranger within his gates. There are several misconceptions as to the planter's work and character, which I trust your patience will this afternoon allow me to remove. In the first place I wish you to dismiss from your minds any idea that the planter is a person of luxurious habits, lounging in an easy-chair and languidly directing the toil of others. To realize the nature of the planter's daily work, it will be as well to concentrate our attention on Assam. This is justifiable in view of the fact that Assam (including Cachar and Sylhet) has 63 per cent. of the total area in India devoted to tea-cultivation, and produces 67 per cent. of the crop.

When in the early part of the last century the tea-plant was discovered to be indigenous to Assam, the first planters had an arduous task before them. They were confronted with vast jungles, overgrown with luxuriant vegetation. The population was scanty and averse from labour; the means of communication extremely imperfect if not entirely absent. It was theirs to evolve order out of chaos; to replace the jungle by the clearing and the garden; to build houses and factories; to open out routes and arrange transport; to import and train labour; to replace the traditional methods inherited from the Chinese by cleanly and efficient mechanical devices; to install elaborate and costly machinery—to do all this in a climate hurtful to

health and often inimical to existence. Finally, they had to open up markets, to overcome a rival firmly based on the monopoly of centuries, and to keep themselves abreast of the times not only in production but in handling and distribution. That they have succeeded in this gigantic task is evident from the administration reports of the province, from the Board of Trade returns, from the unanimous verdict of all visitors to the tea-districts.

The tea-garden with its careful cultivation has replaced the disorder of the jungle. The dangers of malaria, of blackwater fever, of the thousand and one ills incidental to tropical life, have been defied and overcome. The cultivation and manufacture of tea have been placed on a scientific basis. The scanty and inert population have been reinforced by thousands of industrious and orderly workers. Must we not agree with that well-known member of Parliament, who, referring to this very question of tea-clearings, says: "The friend of India can only rejoice to see the most inaccessible heights brought under industrial control, and the pathless forests converted into a hive of industry with great advantage to the population"? The markets of the world have testified, by their enormous purchases, to the sterling value of the tea produced. The planter, therefore, stands out as an embodiment of the typical British virtues of pluck, endurance and industry. In order that we may better understand his actual work, I propose to devote some little time now to a description of the processes of tea manufacture, and I trust that the pictures which will be shown to you will prove to have some interest for you.

In the formation of a tea-garden, we have first of all to clear the jungle. Forest-land that has been lying fallow two or three years is generally considered the best for tea-planting. The best situation is the lower part of a slope near a good water-supply. Abundance of sunshine and a good rainfall are essential to the well-being of the plant. Tea is a deep-rooting plant, with a long tap-root, and good

depth of subsoil is necessary. The soil must be rich enough and deep enough to stand the mechanical and chemical strain of being continuously cultivated and cropped for at least one hundred years without necessarily any addition of manure. Any rich soil, whether heavy or light, will suit for tea, provided it receives proper treatment. In practice it has been found that the most flavoury teas have been produced from soil of chocolate colour, or a mixture of red clay with a large proportion of organic matter. Virgin soil is much to be preferred. In this the surface is covered with a layer, more or less thick, of vegetable deposit or mould, the produce of rotted leaves and other decayed vegetation accumulated for many years; this mould has to be mixed with the soil to a certain depth, as it contains the most important nourishment for the plant, and it must be placed in such a position that the feeding rootlets will find ready access to it. For this reason it will be seen that in opening new land it is very desirable that the digging should be deep and the soil thoroughly well mixed in preparation for the plant which is to find in it a permanent home. Judgment and skill have therefore to be exercised in the selection and preparation of the soil for the new garden. The plant is a variety of camellia, and has the same beautiful white flower which possesses a fragrance all its own. The calyx is small and smooth, having five sepals. The plant will grow to a great height if left to itself.

It is generally grown from seed which has been sown in a nursery set apart for the purpose. Here the young plant receives every attention, being carefully watered, tended, and shaded from the sun. At the age of some six or eight months the plants are transplanted from the nursery. They are planted out with great care in the tea-garden, and are allowed to grow for about two years, when they are pruned or topped. After the third year they require pruning annually. The object of pruning is to prevent the plant attaining an inconvenient height. In its natural state

in the forest the tea-shrub grows to a height of 15 to 30 feet, a height and an extent of foliage which unfits it for the rapid production of leaves in successive "flushes," while its shape as well as its height would render the labour of gathering the leaves both difficult and expensive. Hence the primary object of pruning is to change the form which the plant would naturally take, and so turn it into a low bush instead of a tree, to minimize the growth of woody fibre so as to allow the strength of the plant to be devoted to the formation of good leaf suitable for tea-making, and to give plenty of light and air to the shrub. When the season is over the bush is usually from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet high, and about 5 feet in diameter; the pruning reduces this to about 2 feet high, with a diameter of 3 feet.

The plant is liable to various diseases, which are the bane of the planter's life. There are green fly, red spider, mosquito blight, and many others. These are investigated by the scientific officers employed by the Tea Association, and as far as possible appropriate remedies devised and employed. These are generally syringed on to the plant. Supposing that we have our plants all healthy and properly pruned, we have next to consider the actual gathering of the tea. Tea as we know it is the dried leaf of the shrub, and, before any process of manufacture is embarked on, this leaf must be plucked from the plant. On most gardens this plucking is done by women and children, men being employed for the heavier work connected with the cultivation. Now it is not every leaf on a tea-bush which is used for tea-making. The lower leaves are too large, coarse, and rough, and would make a very unpleasant kind of tea. It is, therefore, only the upper or younger leaves which are plucked. The shoot is at its best at one particular stage of its growth, and this must be taken at the right time to insure the best quality in the tea. There are different methods of plucking adopted, according as the idea is to produce a fine delicate tea or a coarse, strong-flavoured quality. The finest tea of all is made from the

immature bud, which, when manufactured into tea, is known as the tip. Golden tips are the highest class of tea procurable, and sometimes fetch fancy prices. There are cases on record where golden tips have fetched as much as 25s. 6d. a pound. Next to the tip come the two leaves just below it. If we pluck only the bud and the two leaves, we are said to pluck fine; if the bud and three leaves, to pluck medium; if the bud and four, to pluck coarse. Now you are not to suppose that these different leaves are plucked separately. That would take far too much time. They are plucked together, and sorted afterwards. The bud is the tip, the first leaf the Orange Pekoe, the second leaf the Pekoe, and the third leaf the Pekoe Souchong. Should the fourth leaf be plucked, this would be the Souchong. Perhaps it will interest you to know the derivation of these terms. As you are aware, Britain first became acquainted with Chinese tea, and thus the terms used are derived from the Chinese. Pekoe is *Pakho*, meaning silver hair. In the old Chinese variety the bud leaf and the end of the first leaf when manufactured produced a tip of silvery colour of a somewhat hairy appearance, hence the Celestial called this silver hair. The Assam plant produced a tip not of a silver but of a golden hue, so the Assam planter adopted the term Pekoe, and added Orange to distinguish it more clearly. Souchong is a corruption of the Chinese *Siau-chung*, meaning small plant. This small plant was allowed by the Chinaman to grow as large as possible before plucking. Hence, although the Lapsang Souchong was derived from the small plant, it was a large leaf. The Indian planter seized on this name for the largest leaf, calling the second leaf Pekoe and the third Pekoe Souchong. Thus all the varieties of tea nomenclature are applied to leaves of the same plant. Of course, the actual quality varies with the plant, and thus with the district in which it grows, or the nature and extent of the cultivation to which it has been subjected. Each acre of ground produces about 14 to 16 hundredweight of

freshly plucked leaf, or perhaps half a pound per bush. This is very little as compared with British agricultural produce. Hence the gardens will last many years without any other manure than the decayed leaves and prunings which are returned to the soil and dug in in autumn. The tea-plant will live for a hundred years, but it begins to deteriorate after forty years. Accordingly, we find that some of the plants first put in in Darjeeling are approaching more nearly the old China type every year, which goes far to prove that the China shrub is a degenerate form of the Assam.

After the leaf is gathered it is taken to the factory to be weighed. The leaf in its unmanufactured state is about four times as heavy as the manufactured leaf, hence the average bush produces about leaf enough to furnish some 2 ounces of the manufactured leaf. This, of course, is purely an average approximation.

After being weighed the leaf is withered. The object of the withering is to bring the leaf into a flaccid condition, so that in the next process the leaf is pliable, and will not break up. To wither, the leaf is spread out thinly in tiers of broad shelves with wire meshes, about eight superficial feet being allowed for each pound of leaf. When fully withered the leaf resembles a fine kid glove to the touch, the leaf being still green, of a slightly duller hue than when plucked. The process of withering lasts for some eighteen hours under normal conditions.

The next process is rolling. Formerly in India, and even now in China, this was done by hands and feet. Now, in India elaborate machinery is used, so that the tea is practically untouched by hand, and thus runs no risk of contamination. Such a machine can hold about 300 pounds of withered leaf, and may be worked by one man. This is equivalent to about 75 pounds of finished tea. The leaf is rolled for twenty-five to thirty-five minutes, then sifted to separate the coarse and fine leaf. The coarser tea is then rolled again hard for about half an hour.

The object of rolling is to break up the leaf-cells, causing the sap to exude, so that it may be acted upon by the atmospheric oxygen during the next process. This is generally called fermentation, though this term is incorrect, since there is no bacillus present, and the process is a purely inorganic one of a chemical type. The process is due to the presence in the leaves and bud of an enzyme or oxidase. More of it is found in the bud than in the lower leaves, and the superior quality of the tip tea is probably due to this excess. For fermenting the leaf is spread in layers 3 to 4 inches thick upon tables, marble or glass slabs, or tiers of ledged shelves, in a room in a shaded position, and means are adopted to keep the air cool. The time occupied is from three and a half to five hours, and at the end of this time the leaf has changed from a fresh green moist condition to a brownish hue, something between a bright salmon and a copper penny. The quality of the tea is greatly determined during this process, over-fermenting producing a rancid quality in the resulting product, which is extremely distasteful, and probably unhealthy. There is, therefore, no part of the manufacture to which the planter pays more particular attention than to the fermenting. He watches it most closely; he has everything about the fermenting room scrupulously clean. In the best houses the floors and walls are of some glazed material, which will stand daily scouring with boiling water. No cloths of any kind are used, unless they are daily washed in boiling water. Any barrows used for moving the leaf about the factory are also scoured out daily with boiling water. At the conclusion of the fermenting process, the condition of the leaf can be recognized by its look and aroma. It is then carefully collected, and taken to the firing-room.

The object of firing is to arrest the development of the ferment, and then to slowly desiccate the leaf, in such a way as to extract all the moisture without dissipating the essential oil or the other aromatic properties of the tea.

Formerly the firing was accomplished by means of open charcoal fires in a brick furnace. Now the Indian planter uses carefully-devised machinery, such as the Sirocco, Venetian, Britannia, or Paragon drier. These range from a series of trays in a chamber over a stove, from which latter the hot air is drawn through the trays by means of an exhaust fan, to the more modern patterns, having an endless web, the leaf being inserted in a hopper above, and carried automatically through a large hot-air chamber before being discharged below.

The actual manufacture of the tea is now completed, and if the various operations have been carefully carried out, each leaf will have a twisted appearance, and on a handful being taken up carefully, the leaves will hang linked to each other some 8 or 9 inches long. The tea is now sorted, so as to separate the various classes. Since the value of the tea is in inverse ratio to the size of the leaf, it is clear that a sifting process has to be undergone, which will separate the finer young leaves and tips from the older and coarser leaves. This is also accomplished in India by means of machinery, the tea being automatically passed through wire meshes of varying size into receptacles placed below. We thus get our Orange Pekoe, our Pekoe, our Souchong, and as many intermediate grades as the taste of the particular garden may ordain.

The tea is not immediately packed, but is blended together, so that each of the various grades may be of uniform quality, otherwise the different days' productions might differ amongst themselves. This blending process is termed "bulking," and you will often notice on tea-chests the words "Factory bulked"; then, after bulking, the tea undergoes a final firing to dispel any moisture which may have remained in or been acquired by the leaf. It is finally packed in the familiar tea-chests, by means of machinery in most cases, and is then ready for export.

This is performed by a number of means of transport,

varying from the primitive bullock or buffalo-cart to the latest type of ocean liner.

If I have succeeded in my immediate purpose, I have enabled you to realize one of the benefits which the planting community of India and Ceylon have conferred upon us. They have substituted for the somewhat doubtful product of China the absolutely pure Indian and Ceylon teas. You have seen that the various stages of manufacture, which are carried on under the most jealous supervision of the European staff of the factory, are conducted in such a way, by automatic and scrupulously clean machinery, as to ensure that the resulting product is free from all contamination. I have not dwelt upon the more revolting aspects of the old Chinese production of tea, but when I say that the Chinese shrub is a degenerate plant, weakened and etiolated by centuries of penurious cultivation and excessive cropping, you will realize that the Indian plant, coming of a vigorous stock, carefully cultivated and watched over by trained scientific advisers, is a far better type of plant, yielding a richer, stronger tea, containing far more of the essential elements than the China variety. Further, the Chinese tea cultivation is of the nature of a peasant industry, carried on by small men, from whom the leaf, imperfectly withered and often damp, is collected to wait for such time as sufficient has been gathered to make it worth while to proceed with the various processes—all performed by hand. It will thus be seen how great is the risk of rotting, of over-fermentation, or fermentation of an organic type. Then, when we look into past records, and see the shameless adulteration, with willow and aloe leaves, with mineral facing and other foreign substances, with spent tea-leaves, we shall see that the genuine British product, with its guarantee of purity, is a real boon to mankind.

The first debt, then, the Empire owes to the planter is that of gratitude for an absolutely irreproachable tea, which, like the ideal wife for an Imperial Cæsar, is above suspicion.

That the purity and value of this tea are appreciated is shown by the enormous and progressive consumption in all countries where tea is known and valued as a beverage. Take Great Britain. In 1866 the United Kingdom consumed 102,265,000 pounds of all kinds of tea. Of this only 4 per cent. was Indian. Each inhabitant of the British Isles consumed on an average 3.42 pounds. In 1905 this consumption had increased to 6.03 pounds per head, or a total of 255,365,953 pounds. Of this total only 10 per cent. was from China, 59 per cent. was from India, and 31 per cent. from Ceylon, where the conditions of manufacture are precisely similar to those obtaining in India. In 1907 the consumption had still further increased to 6.20 pounds per head. In 1908 there were imported into Great Britain 21,467,343 pounds of China tea, and 172,477,204 pounds of Indian, the latter being valued at £5,770,094. Of this total import a certain amount is re-exported, and a proportionately large amount remains in bond till required; but the official figures show that during 1908, 8,920,731 pounds of China tea and 157,441,204 pounds of Indian were taken out of bond for home consumption. The figures for the "seasonal year," from June 1, 1908, to May 31, 1909, are even more remarkable. During that period the amount of Indian tea cleared for home consumption was 176,552,195 pounds, an increase of 21,000,000 pounds over the preceding period. This rate of increase has been practically maintained during the whole of 1909. The latest published figures show that during the calendar year 160,200,000 pounds of Indian tea have been taken out of bond, amounting to 57 per cent. of the total consumption in Great Britain. The average consumption per head of all kinds of tea is now 6.29 pounds, and of Indian tea 3.59 pounds.

The same tendencies are noticeable in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, so that the whole of the British Dominions beyond the seas have shared in this expansion of the tea trade. This increase in the drinking of a sound,

pure tea has undoubtedly assisted in the promotion of habits of sobriety and temperance among all classes of the population. We may then add to the indebtedness of all of us to the planter some part at least of the diminution in drunkenness which has been so marked a feature of the past ten years. This tendency has undoubtedly been greatly assisted by the fact that while the production and consumption of tea have enormously increased, the price has very greatly diminished. I do not want to weary you with elaborate statistics on this head, but it will be well within the memories of many of us that a very common price for an ordinary tea was 2s. 6d. to 3s. a pound, whilst now a sound tea can be obtained for 1s. 8d., and there are even philanthropists, disguised as tea-dealers, who offer the "very best" tea at 1s. 4d. per pound. I am not in a position to pronounce upon the merits of this particular brand, but that such a statement should be widely advertised and not be scouted by the public as a flagrant impossibility shows the remarkable way in which India's efforts to provide a sound beverage at a low price have met with success. This is true, even if such low-priced teas contain only a very small percentage of real Indian tea, since it is the rapid advance in every method of production, transport, and distribution of tea, due to the sagacity and enterprise of those who make and handle Indian tea, which has rendered possible this cutting of price. The benefit to the poor sempstress, the overworked typist, the harassed school-teacher, the busy thinker, of this ready accessibility of a pure, fragrant, and refreshing drink cannot well be over-estimated.

Leaving, now, the inhabitants of these isles and the people of our own race, let us see what Indian tea has done for the vast dependency where it is grown. We have seen the transformation which the introduction of the tea industry has wrought in the jungles of Assam. But we must go farther, and trace the effect on those remote villages of Bengal and Chota Nagpore, from which the labour supply for Assam is so largely recruited; or we must go into the

parched places of the sun-scorched Madras Presidency, and watch the stream of emigrant coolies going to the promised land of Lanka, Ceylon, that gem of the Eastern seas, thence to return in the fulness of time, laden with rupees, and tinkling with feminine ornaments, to be the envy of their villages for evermore. . In plain prose, the tea industry has done a very great deal to mitigate the pressure of the terrible population question in India. It has provided work, under pleasant and equitable conditions, rigorously enforced by the law. It has enabled the thrifty peasant of the plains to provide for old age, to invest in land, to accumulate savings sufficient to place his family altogether beyond the reach of want.

Before this Association, a competent witness, brought up in the straitest sect of the Secretariat, testified: "Personal experience has convinced me that the planters are most valuable auxiliaries of the Administration, are just and kindly employers of labour, and that their interests are intimately bound up with the welfare of our British and our British-Indian fellow-subjects. . . . Of all men in the world, the planter is the last to deal harshly with labourers, who are shy of approach, difficult to retain, and by no means the helpless and servile herd which they are, from ignorance or interest, too often represented to be. The tea-garden coolie knows very well how many beans make four, and, realizing that he can get good wages and good treatment, will not remain in the service of an unjust or violent employer, whose garden becomes boycotted all over the countryside."

The Indian Census Report, dated 1903, says of immigrants into Assam: "They prosper greatly in their new home, and many of them settle there for good. Tea is the one industry in which capital is invested, and although one-eighth of the population are foreigners, the indigenous castes have shared in the prosperity which the district owes to a number of well-managed tea-gardens, to which ruined cultivators and landless labourers from the Central Provinces proceed in order to settle down and prosper in Assam. On the expiry of their agreements, large numbers either stay

on as garden coolies or settle down as cultivators, herdsmen, or traders, while of those who return home many eventually find their way back to Assam, where, in 1900, they held 90,000 acres directly under Government, besides a large area held by their sub-tenants."

Another impartial witness says: "They are largely recruited from congested districts, clothed, fed, and brought comfortably to the gardens, where they are paid double the wage they received at home, housed comfortably, medical attendance and comforts provided, and, as I have witnessed in numerous gardens in Assam, the Himalayas, Dehra Doon, such comfortable, well-fed, lightly-worked, healthy, merry, working people I have not seen anywhere else in the world. Their working hours are about two-thirds of those exacted by Indian mill-owners in Bombay with night work and electric light. In fact, though not perfect, the industrial system is very near perfection. When rice reaches a certain price, the law compels the employers to provide food or compensation. Light task-work enables them to save money and encourages industry, and a field of tea-pickers is bright with the tinkling silver ornaments which the women wear in profusion."

But this is not all. Apart from these direct benefits, the expenditure of capital on the tea-estates has been considerable. A competent authority has estimated the capital sunk in the various tea-estates at some forty millions sterling. All of this vast sum has been deposited in one form or other in India to fructify in various ways. The estates spend annually some four and three-quarter millions sterling in India; nay, more, the gardens in the plains spend an average of 7s. per acre or 6s. per coolie in providing medical assistance for their workers. The corresponding figures for hill gardens are 2s. per acre and 2s. 4d. per coolie—a striking tribute to the climatic difference. This would mean that tea companies in India spend every year about £170,000 on the maintenance of health among their workers. In other words, every pound of tea produced in India means 4½d. spent in the country, of which

$\frac{1}{8}$ d. is medical expenditure. These figures should, I think, furnish food for reflection to those who proclaim against all fact and reason, that India's use of British capital is a drain on the life-blood of the dependency.

The development of communications in various parts of the Indian Empire has owed much to the impetus given by the requirements of the tea industry. The industry has enhanced the prosperity of great ports, particularly Calcutta and Chittagong. It has relieved the burden of the Indian taxpayer, as well as of his fellow-sufferer in Great Britain.

The planter is himself, as a man, a valuable asset of the Empire. He forms in districts, before his advent remote and destitute of European influence, the nucleus of a society which does much to promote and preserve the social amenities. With very rare exceptions he is a man of character, whose life upholds among the observant thousands of Indians the best traditions of the *Sahib-logue*. He is a sportsman and often a botanist, familiar with the flora and fauna of his district. He is ready, in a time of national stress and Imperial danger, to take his place in the foremost fighting line. The records of Lumsden's Horse or the Ceylon contingents will long remain to testify to this patriotic readiness. In times of peace he gives up a great deal of his spare time to rendering himself efficient for the arduous duties which may devolve on him when the war-clouds lower.

Has this country given any recognition of the great benefits it has received from the tea industry? It has! It imposes a duty of 5d. per pound before it allows the tea to come into the country. This is equivalent in many cases to something between 50 and 90 per cent. *ad valorem*. On cocoa, largely produced in certain foreign possessions under conditions which have recently been the subject of severe comment, the impost is one penny per pound. Now, Australia, Belgium, Canada, United States, New Zealand, Tasmania, and several of the smaller countries, allow tea in duty free. I have no desire to provoke a sterile discussion on the economic bases of fiscal policy, but I think these facts are sufficient to show that the balance is due to the planter.

THE WONDERS OF IRRIGATION IN THE PUNJAB.

(THE Council of the East India Association think it desirable to call particular attention to the really wonderful story of irrigation in the Punjab, as recently told by Sir James Wilson to the Royal Society of Arts.)

IN a country like the Punjab, where the air is usually very dry, and the temperature, though moderate in winter, goes up in summer to over 115° in the shade, the farmer's chief difficulty is to get sufficient moisture for the germination and maturing of his crops; and where they are dependent only on the rainfall his vicissitudes are much greater than those experienced in more temperate climes; for the rainfall is very variable both in amount and distribution. In all years the outturn varies greatly, however careful and industrious the farmer may be; and in a year of widespread drought miles upon miles of fields ordinarily covered with flourishing crops produce nothing, or next to nothing, and whole tracts of country are plunged into dire distress, sometimes verging on famine. Although last year was a fairly good year, it was reported that altogether 5,000,000 acres, or one-sixth of the area sown, had failed to produce a fair crop. The best safeguard the peasant can have against the effects of drought is the provision of means of irrigation for his fields, and the two chief sources of irrigation are wells, which enable him to draw water from the underground supply, and canals which bring the water of the rivers on to the thirsty ground. Wells have been largely used from time immemorial, but their number has largely increased since annexation, and there are now nearly 300,000 wells in use for purposes of irrigation, representing an expenditure by the landowners themselves of over £5,000,000 sterling. In the dry year 1907-08 4,000,000 acres of crops were irrigated from wells.

The development of canals has been still more wonderful, thanks to our engineers who have erected strong masonry weirs right across the beds of the mighty rivers which bring the melted snows down from the Himalaya mountains and flow across the plain on their way to join the Indus and the sea ; so that they can divert any portion of their floods at will into great canals and convey the water on to the level country lower down where it is distributed by an elaborate network of channels to every field as required. The total length of main canal exceeds 2,600 miles, and the length of distributing channels is over 9,000 miles ; and in the year 1907-08, when the unprotected crops were withering from want of rain, the canals of the Province irrigated no less than 6,000,000 acres, and enabled the cultivators to reap a satisfactory harvest over this area. Such large irrigation-works are not made for nothing. The eleven most important canals cost the State £9,000,000 sterling to make. Their gross revenue—that is, the money charged the cultivators as the price of the precious water, amounted in 1907-08 to £1,350,000, and the net revenue, after defraying all annual charges except interest, amounted to £870,000, or 10 per cent. on the capital cost ; and, as the State borrowed the money at an average of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., these canals have proved a very profitable investment for the Indian general taxpayer, as well as an immense benefit to the thousands of peasants whose crops they have rendered secure. The engineers have not yet nearly come to an end of their beneficent schemes. They are now constructing a set of three canals, which will draw water from the Jhelam and Chenab Rivers, and take it across the valley of the Ravi to irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres now lying waste. This scheme will cost some £5,000,000 sterling, and will probably ultimately pay the State 10 per cent. on its capital cost, besides adding enormously to the produce of the Province and the prosperity of the agricultural population.

The area under cultivation increased very rapidly in-

mediately after annexation, when war and anarchy were succeeded by profound peace, and the soldiers beat their spears into pruning-hooks, or at least gave up the sword for the plough. Forty years ago the area under tillage was less than 20,000,000 acres, and of this only about 7,000,000 were protected by irrigation. Now the area under tillage is 28,000,000 acres, and of this area 12,000,000 acres are protected by irrigation from canals and wells, so that the crops are not only rendered much more secure against drought, but the produce has been immensely increased, both by the breaking up of 8,000,000 acres of land formerly waste, and by the irrigating of 5,000,000 acres of land formerly unprotected; for the produce of an irrigated area is on the average double that of an unirrigated area. There has also been a marked improvement in the methods of cultivation, and the gross agricultural produce of the Punjab must altogether be at least 50 per cent. more than it was forty years ago, and double what it was at annexation; and owing to the great extension of irrigation it is much more secure than it was, and varies less from year to year, although numerous peasants, and especially those whose holdings are out of reach of irrigation, are still liable to great vicissitudes of season.

The principal crops grown are wheat, millets, pulses, cotton, maize, barley, oil-seeds, sugar-cane and rice, and of these much the most important is wheat, which covers 8,000,000 of the 29,000,000 acres sown. About half the wheat is irrigated, but most of it is grown without manure. There are many fields which produce their 30 or 40 bushels per acre, but very large areas give a very poor outturn, and the average production of wheat for the Province is only 13 bushels per acre, whereas in the United States of America the average is 16 bushels, in France 20 bushels, in Canada 22 bushels, and in Great Britain, with its well-manured land, about 32 bushels per acre. There is twice as much wheat annually grown in the Punjab as there is in the United Kingdom.

When people in the Punjab present an address of welcome to a high official or deliver a speech on the blessings of British rule (which they take every opportunity to do), they usually begin by praising the impartial administration of justice and the arrangements made for the maintenance of order, which, as they put it, enable the goat to drink without fear at the same watering-place as the tiger, and go on to express admiration and gratitude for the vast improvement in the means of communication, railways, roads, post-offices and telegraphs. Of all these, the one that comes most home to the villager is the post-office, the development of which has been extraordinary and its management most progressive and successful. Every villager in the Punjab now finds a post-office within comparatively easy reach, from which he can, with perfect confidence, send a letter for $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or a post-card for $\frac{1}{4}$ d., nearly 2,000 miles across the length and breadth of India, and from which he can get money sent him, at a small charge, by relations or friends either in India itself or from the farthest ends of the earth. You can understand what a convenience and what an education the post-office is to the villager who can recollect the time when it was hardly possible for him to send or receive a letter or a money-order. Similarly the telegraph system has in recent years been rapidly extended, and there is now hardly a town of any importance that is not connected by telegraph with the rest of the world. Sixty years ago there were no railways in the Punjab and no good roads. Traffic had often to find its way across the fields, through deep mud or soft dust, as best it could. The first railway was commenced just fifty years ago, and now the great North-Western Railway system, constructed and managed by the State, extends its branches all over the Province, and, along with several smaller railways owned by private companies, collects the surplus produce for conveyance down the Indus to Karachi for export to Europe, or south-eastwards towards Calcutta and Bombay, and brings in from outside the Province articles

required for consumption. This North-Western Railway, which partly lies in the adjoining Province of Sind, cost the State £40,000,000 sterling, and its gross earnings last year were £4,250,000. It carried 40,000,000 passengers, and 8,500,000 tons weight of goods. It took third-class passengers five miles for a penny, and ordinary goods at a rate below a halfpenny per ton per mile. Good roads are maintained by the Government between all the principal towns and the roads leading to villages have been much improved. Trade has thus been greatly facilitated even in the farthest corners of the Province, and has increased enormously in bulk and value. On the average of the three years ending 1907 the annual exports from the Punjab amounted to 40,000,000 cwt., valued at £15,000,000, and the imports to 25,000,000 cwt., of about the same value. The exports are chiefly wheat, oilseed, cotton and other agricultural produce, and the imports cotton piece-goods, sugar and metals. Besides these goods, there was a net import of treasure, principally silver coin and bullion, of the value of £6,000,000 sterling in the three years during which the people of the Punjab must have added that amount of gold and silver to their hoards and ornaments.

This great improvement of communications, which is still steadily proceeding year by year, has not only contributed immensely to the general convenience of the Punjab villagers all over the Province, but has tended to equalize prices by facilitating the flow of all commodities from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are scarce and dear, to make imported articles cheaper and to enable the villager to get a better price for his surplus produce—and this tendency has been even more marked in the outlying villages than in the towns. Forty or fifty years ago, when authentic news was difficult to get, and the carriage of bulky goods was very costly, it was not uncommon to find grain selling in one part of the country, where the harvests had been good, at half the price that

would willingly be paid for it two or three hundred miles away, where there had been a drought, the crops had failed and the people were starving. Now news of any important change of prices is at once sent over the country by telegram or letter, produce is rapidly bought up where it is plentiful, and sent by railway to places where it is scarce, and prices at both places soon attain a position of equilibrium, with a difference between them little greater than the cost of carrying. The working of this system, and especially of the railways, is invaluable for the prevention of famine conditions. An instance of this occurred in 1908, when there was a very severe and widespread failure of the crops owing to drought in the United Provinces, while at the same time there had been a fair crop in the canal-irrigated fields of the Punjab proper. At once traders set to work to bring about an equilibrium of prices. The surplus of the Punjab, instead of, as usual, finding its way through Karachi to Europe, was immediately diverted to the United Provinces, and poured into every railway station in the distressed tract, keeping down prices there and staving off famine conditions. Had it not been for the railways it would have been impossible to get enough food into the famine-stricken area in time to save the people, prices would have gone up enormously, and thousands would probably have died of starvation. Meanwhile, the peasants on the Punjab canals would have found it impossible to sell their surplus grain except at excessively low prices.

In ordinary years there is a steady stream of produce down the Indus Valley to Karachi, and from there by sea to other countries; and prices in almost every village in the Punjab are determined from day to day, not only by the condition of the crops and the local demand, but by the course of prices in the great markets of the world. Several large exporting firms have agents in all the large towns of the Punjab, who are in constant telegraphic communication with their principals, and through them with Europe and America. If prices of agricultural produce go up in London,

Liverpool or Chicago, these agents within a few hours receive instructions to offer better prices in the Punjab markets for export, the price in the market goes up at once in response, and the news soon spreads to the smaller towns and villages and causes a corresponding rise of prices there. A striking instance of this was seen during the attempted corner in wheat in Chicago some years ago. There was nothing in India itself to cause any marked change in prices. But as day after day the price of wheat rose in Chicago, it went on rising in every Punjab town and village until it reached something like famine rates; then, when the Chicago corner collapsed, down went prices all over the Punjab, and reached their former level in a few days. For some weeks every working man in the Punjab paid much more than usual for his daily food, for no other reason than that a corn-dealer in Chicago thought he saw a chance of making a colossal fortune!

In consequence of this improvement of communications, the price of agricultural produce in the villages has not only become more equable and more stable, but has risen in a marked degree. In the great Amritsar market it is now on the average 40 per cent. higher than it was thirty-five years ago, and the rise is higher still in the distant villages, which were formerly out of reach of a railway. As at the same time the cost of imported articles has fallen owing to the cheapening of the means of transport, it may safely be said that in the average Punjab village the produce of an average acre of land will now fetch quite double the amount of such things as cotton-cloth, metals, mineral oil, or imported articles of use or ornament that it did thirty or forty years ago. Salt, too, one of the daily articles of consumption, has greatly fallen in price owing to reduction of taxation, and the average Punjab villager can now buy three pounds weight for a penny which would only have purchased half that amount ten years ago.

April, 1910.

THE COBDENITE VIEW OF THE "DRAIN," AND THE INDIAN FISCAL PROBLEM.*

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE Government of Bombay appear to have taken a new departure in the way of political propaganda—and one that seems rather to conflict with the austere views of the Secretary of State on this subject. They appear to have brought out last year from England to Bombay—presumably at the expense of the Indian taxpayers—a somewhat extreme Radical lecturer, whose mission was the threefold one of (1) proving out of the textbooks of Political Economy the fallacy of the doctrines of Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Sir Henry Cotton on the famous question of the "Drain"; (2) proving in the same way the futility of Indian Protectionism; and (3) proving on general grounds that Imperial Preference, as a fiscal policy, would be good for India, but bad for England.

With regard to this last point, it is difficult to understand what object any Indian Government can have in obtaining instruction from London for its students, to prove to them that a fiscal policy that is supported by one Party in English politics, and opposed by the other, is good for India, but bad for England.

Further, it might have been supposed that the learned Professors of the Bombay Education Department who lecture on these subjects in the Elphinstone College in Bombay and the Deccan College in Poona—not to mention such men as Professor Kale of the Fergusson Aided

* "India and the Tariff Problem," by H. B. Lees Smith, M.A., Professor of Public Administration in the University of Bristol; Lecturer to the London School of Economics and Political Science; Assistant-Editor of the *Economic Journal*; Chairman of Executive Committee of Ruskin College, Oxford. London: Constable and Co., Ltd.

College, and the other lecturers in the Aided Colleges of the Bombay Presidency—might have been able adequately to deal with the scientific side of the important economic questions confided by the Government of Bombay to the exposition of a visitor from London. And it may fairly be doubted whether the Bombay Government was altogether justified in calling in, for the exposition of the political side of those questions, so extreme a partisan as Mr. H. B. Lees Smith, who has subsequently been returned as the Radical and Free Trade M.P. for Northampton.

But however this may be, it may be admitted that there is some advantage in having before the world an authoritative expression of the Cobdenite views on the Indian Fiscal question, from the standpoint of one who speaks not only as a Radical politician, but also as a political economist. During the course of Mr. Lees Smith's candidature at Northampton he published a little *brochure* under the title of "India and the Tariff Problem." From the economic point of view it is somewhat nebulous and self-contradictory—and that will, I think, be the verdict on its arguments by every trained economist who studies them, whether he be a Cobdenite or a Tariff Reformer. For, as I shall endeavour presently to show, its conclusions on important points are in defiance of the premises on which they are founded. The preface, however, tells us that "this essay is based upon a series of lectures delivered for the Government of Bombay." And we learn from the title-page that the author is "Professor of Public Administration in the University of Bristol, Lecturer to the London School of Economics and Political Science, Assistant-Editor of the *Economic Journal*, Chairman of Executive Committee of Ruskin College, Oxford." It is also stated that Mr. Smith's proofs have been revised by Mr. Edwin Cannan of Balliol College, Oxford, the eminent Professor of Political Economy in the University of London; and that the General Editor of the series of monographs in which Mr. Smith's essay appears is the Hon. W.

Pember Reeves, the Director of the London School of Economics. As the ex-Directors of that school are men of such great economic distinction as Mr. Hewins and Mr. Mackinder, M.P., it is obvious that Mr. Lees Smith speaks with much authority—which makes it all the more to be regretted that, in dealing with the Indian Tariff Problem, he has allowed his Cobdenite prejudices, and the exigencies of his position as a Radical candidate, to confuse and stultify his arguments.

In his Government lectures at Bombay, Mr. Lees Smith has fully stated the case in regard to the question of the "Drain" of wealth from India to England, on which the chief writers have hitherto been Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, Mr. Keir Hardie, and others connected with the Indian National Congress Party. Speaking at the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Institute in January of last year, he took the line of argument followed in the well-known "Pamphlet No. 1" of the East India Association, entitled, "The Truth about the Drain." Mr. Smith said :

"He could scarcely believe his ears when he arrived in this country [India] and found that the people were being told by their politicians that because India's exports exceeded her imports, she was on the road to ruin. Their exports exceeded their imports by 20 to 30 millions. That sum went out of the country. One-third of it represented interest on capital, the profits of merchants, salaries of employés, and payment for goods sent into the country. Did they wish to dispense with British machinery, did they wish Englishmen to keep out of the country, did they wish to have nothing more to do with English capital? Or did they wish to receive all those goods and services without paying for them? If they answered these questions in the negative, what justification had they for describing the process of paying for them 'bleeding'? There was only one section of the community who could logically use the argument of 'bleeding,' and that was

the section which thought that the country would be better off if every Englishman left it, if every machine from abroad were thrown into the sea, and if all the railways were destroyed, and you were to return to a position in which you were absolutely independent of the English Government and of English services. If they held those opinions, they could logically call the process of payment 'bleeding.' But if they did not, it was a term which was misleading and ungenerous."

Now herein, Mr. Lees Smith seems to be far more reasonable than Sir Henry Cotton and his friends, and it will be interesting to see what reply Mr. Cotton's paper *India*, that voices the views of the Indian Congress Party, and of the English M.P.'s like Mr. Keir Hardie and the other disciples of Sir Henry Cotton, will offer to Mr. Lees Smith's very direct and outspoken criticism of their opinions about the "Drain." For it will be remembered that the one excuse that has hitherto been made by Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and his Parliamentary colleagues for the inconsistency of their political conduct, in being extreme Cobdenites in England and extreme Protectionists in India, has been the "Drain!" Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, when speaking in favour of Indian Protection against British goods at the Calcutta National Congress of 1906, distinctly stated that he advocated Indian Protection, in spite of the fact that he had been a member of the Council of the Cobden Club for over twenty years, because of what he called this "economic muddle"—and he was speaking as the representative of Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Schwann, and the other members of the British Parliamentary Committee.

It will be seen that Mr. Lees Smith, M.P., in the paragraph I have quoted from his lecture at the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Institute, clearly lays it down that no one who is loyal to the British Raj and to the English connection with India, can logically complain of the "drain" as—he uses the phrase that has been much favoured by Sir Henry

Cotton's friends—"bleeding India." Now, when this sentiment of Mr. Lees Smith is put forward by Liberals like Lord Morley, or Mr. J. D. Rees, or the author of the East India Association's pamphlet, Sir Henry Cotton's friends, both in the pages of *India* and elsewhere, seem inclined to throw doubts on the quality of their Liberalism. But here we have in Mr. Lees Smith not only a Radical and a Cobdenite, but one who speaks with all the authority derived from the various sources I have indicated. It is true that he has only apparently been a few weeks in India. But in that respect he stands on the same footing with Mr. Keir Hardie, Dr. Rutherford, and the other apostles of the "Drain" theory which he attacks. His political and economic training has probably been superior to theirs. And anyhow, his position as Radical M.P. for Northampton, and as a lecturer in the London School of Economics, certainly entitles him to be reckoned with by the editor of *India* and the gentlemen associated with the Congress Party.

The same considerations entitle Mr. Lees Smith's little book on "India and the Tariff Problem" to be treated respectfully in the pages of this *Review*. But I am bound to say that it is simply amazing that a gentleman, writing with those credentials, and on such a subject, should show himself to be absolutely unacquainted with even the mere elements of the economic theory of Imperial Preference. A Cobdenite economist is quite justified in opposing Imperial Preference, for it runs counter to his most cherished economical principles founded on the copybook headings of his early youth, such as "Fight Hostile Tariffs with Free Imports!" and "No Taxation except for Revenue!" But he is not justified in misrepresenting the fundamental article of the Preferential creed. That is what Mr. Lees Smith does in wellnigh every page of his booklet.

For throughout his booklet, Mr. Lees Smith is evidently labouring under the delusion that Imperial Preference means the imposition by England of Protective import-

duties against the products of India and of the other sister-States of the British Empire, as well as against the products of foreign countries—a fiscal system that would obviously, in mere justice, involve the right of India to impose similarly Protective import-duties against the products of the United Kingdom. But every trained economist and politician knows, or ought to know, that such a fiscal system would be in direct and flagrant opposition to the elementary principles of Imperial Preference. Mr. Balfour has laid it down authoritatively that the characteristic or keynote of Imperial Preference is "Freer Trade"—these very words he has repeated more than once—between the sister-States of the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain, in his famous letter to Sir M. M. Bhowaggee of November 3, 1903, declared that Imperial Preference between England and India would at once involve the free or preferential admission to the British market of all Indian products. At the Imperial Conference, the Premier of the Cape Colony, speaking in the presence of, and avowedly on behalf of, all the other advocates of Imperial Preference at that memorable gathering, used these remarkable and decisive words :

"Our idea is, as Sir Joseph Ward said just now, that having Preferential trade throughout the Empire (which is ultimately an ideal, but not practically so at present) might lead to Free Trade within the Empire ; and then, as Mr. Deakin said, the enormous factor of the whole British Empire being Free Trade could compel modifications of the fiscal attitude of the rest of the world, and practically compel Free Trade throughout the world, and the recognition of individual effort everywhere : that is the general idea. That being our idea of what Preference may lead to, it is natural that we should do our utmost to influence the Imperial Government to see eye to eye with us on this subject. Already all the Colonies see eye to eye with each other."

All these authoritative statements of the policy of Imperial Preference have long been before the public, and certainly ought to have been studied by any serious economist and politician, whether a Cobdenite or a Tariff Reformer, before writing a booklet on the subject for the guidance of others.

A succinct statement of the application of these general principles to the particular conditions of the trade between India and England was published in the January number of this *Review*. It will be useful for me to quote that statement in this place, to show how grossly Mr. Lees Smith ignores or misrepresents the most elementary notions of Imperial Preference in regard to the problem he professes to investigate. It runs as follows :

1. Imperial Preference proposes to abolish, so far as revenue considerations will permit, the existing import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that is levied in Indian ports on all Lancashire cotton goods. Will that injure Lancashire trade, or will it benefit it? Will it injure the Indian consumers, who will get their clothing cheaper, or will it benefit them? Will it increase Indian consumption, or will it diminish it?

2. Imperial Preference proposes *pari passu* with the abolition or mitigation of these import duties on Lancashire cotton goods, to abolish or mitigate the countervailing excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. now levied on the competing products of Indian cotton mills. This is only fair, and will still maintain the equality of treatment of English and Indian goods. As this excise duty, which is not levied in any colony, nor in any other country in the world, is hated by the Indians, its abolition will do much to soothe that Indian jealousy which now finds vent in *Swadeshi* vows (to use no imported goods) among the "moderate" Indians, and in violent "boycotting" (the coercion of native traders to prevent their selling Lancashire goods) among the "Extremists."

Will this abolition or mitigation, this pacifying measure of equity, be likely to benefit or to injure Lancashire trade in India?

3. Imperial Preference proposes to retain (for revenue purposes, and to safeguard the Indian and Lancashire trade) the existing import duties on German, American, and other foreign goods produced outside the British Empire. We shall not tax the foreigners so heavily as they tax us, and they have no right to complain of any friendly domestic arrangements we may choose to make with our own fellow-subjects. Will these Indian taxes on the foreigners injure or benefit Lancashire trade with India, and Indian trade with the world?

4. Imperial Preference proposes, in return for India's abolition or reduction of her import duties on British manufactures, that England shall abolish or reduce her import duties on Indian tea, Indian tobacco, and so forth. Lancashire working men will get their tea and their tobacco at half the present prices; for in each case the duty exceeds the initial cost of the commodity. Will this injure or benefit Lancashire? Will it injure or benefit the Indian producer?

Now, it may be admitted that Mr. Lees Smith, in the introductory chapters of his *India and the Tariff Problem*, shows that he had usefully and intelligently employed his time on the voyage to and from India in studying the present condition of Indian industries and commerce, as elucidated in the excellent Blue-books issued by the Government of India. Further, his advocacy of a Free Trade League for India, and his adverse criticism of *Swadeshi* and Indian Protectionism, though deeply tinged by his Cobdenite prejudices, are fair and temperate, and he is less scornful of the "nascent industries" argument than the average Cobdenite. But his inadequate and faulty conception of the meaning of Imperial Preference utterly

vitiates all the arguments of the two concluding chapters, which deal with this subject.

In his Preface, Mr. Smith thus summarizes his conclusions in regard to it :

“ The last two chapters discuss the recent proposals for preferential tariffs with India. There is one question which can be treated more appropriately here than in the body of the essay. I have been asked by a number of the leaders of educated opinion in India to state clearly what I consider their attitude should be towards the proposals for preferential tariffs. I was informed that the reason that the Indian National Congress has pronounced no opinion on the subject was not that they failed to realize its importance, but that they were waiting for more light. My opinion on this point can be easily deduced from the last two chapters of this essay. By preferential tariffs Great Britain will lose heavily in her Indian markets. India, however, has little either to lose or gain from preferences by themselves. Nevertheless, the proposals for preferences are of the highest importance to her. If they are ever adopted by the United Kingdom, they will undoubtedly be accompanied by a return to protection. India will then have a unique opportunity of gaining her fiscal freedom. Although I have not disguised my suspicions of the prevailing Protectionist sentiment of India, I wish to see her freely adopting the fiscal policy which she considers most for the good of her own people. India, of course, means for this purpose the Indian Government, acting, I sincerely hope, in conjunction with the educated opinion of the country. My advice to the leaders of Indian opinions is simple. They should make it plain that if a preferential scheme is adopted they are willing that India should have a place in it. One fact, however, must stand out clearly. Should Great Britain adopt Protection, she must honourably face the consequences of her

conversion, and allow to India the right to follow in her footsteps, if Indian administrators and thinkers consider it to be for the country's good."

In this oracular utterance, the hopeless confusion of thought that is evident, the airy disregard of all the arguments and conclusions that the author has himself put forward in the chapters referred to, and the strange ignoring of even the most elementary principles of political economy, are quite bewildering. The "opinion" that Mr. Lees Smith offers for the enlightenment of his Indian friends as to whether they should regard Imperial Preference as beneficial to their country, or injurious, is in itself satisfactory—for he distinctly advises them to accept Imperial Preference. He gives this advice to "India," and he adds: "India, of course, means for this purpose the Indian Government, acting, I sincerely hope, in conjunction with the educated opinion of the country." That is, again, eminently reasonable and satisfactory. But the odd thing is that this solemn and serious advice is directly in the teeth of every one of Mr. Smith's arguments in his Chapter V. on "Indian Protectionism." And indeed, all the reasons that he gives for this advice are preposterous, as I shall endeavour briefly to show.

The first reason that he assigns for advising his Indian friends to accept Imperial Preference is his opinion that the adoption of a policy of Imperial Preference by the United Kingdom in regard to India "will undoubtedly be accompanied by a return to Protection"—and this, he thinks, will give India "a unique opportunity of gaining her fiscal freedom." Why? What "Protection" is he speaking of? Does he seriously mean to pretend that a "Preference" for Indian goods will, or can, be accompanied by "Protection" *against* Indian goods? Mr. Smith presumably understands the ordinary meaning of the English word "Preference"—does he regard it as compatible with hostile "Protection"? The suggestion is absurd. An economist

of the Cobdenite school may, fairly and honestly, regard England's "Preference" for Indian goods, and India's "Preference" for English goods, as "Protection" against the foreigner—and if he takes up that position Tariff Reformers can amicably argue the point with him. But he cannot honestly say that England's adoption of a "Preference" for Indian goods and "Protection" against foreign goods, will justify India in demanding her "fiscal freedom," in the sense in which Mr. Lees Smith uses the words.

For elsewhere, in Chapter VI., Mr. Smith explains that he means, by India's "fiscal freedom," freedom to impose Protective import-duties against British goods, as well as against foreign goods. But inasmuch as England, by the very fact of her adopting "Preference" between herself and India, abjures for herself any right of imposing Protective duties against Indian goods—a right which would be incompatible with Mr. Balfour's postulate of "Freer Trade," and is indeed the very negation of Imperial Preference—how, in the name of common sense, can Mr. Smith allege that the adoption by England of such a policy of mutual preferences between herself and India would justify India in adopting a policy of Protection against England?

That I am not wronging Mr. Smith when I attribute to him these notions, so strange in a gentleman occupying the post of a lecturer to the London School of Economics, can be proved by numerous quotations from his booklet on "India and the Tariff Problem." I need only give one, which occurs at pp. 100, 101, 102. Speaking of the attitude of the Imperial Parliament in forcing India to adopt the "Free Trade" Policy—I prefer to call it Cobdenism, merely because "Free Trade" is an ambiguous and meaningless expression—in defiance of the deep-seated convictions of every Indian, Mr. Lees Smith writes as follows:

"This attitude was perfectly justifiable as long as Great Britain herself upheld Free Trade. But what will

her position be if she herself abandons it? British statesmen will be faced by two alternatives. It is possible for them to assert unashamedly that India is merely a 'plantation,' whose good must be sacrificed to the interests of British capital. They can acknowledge that their arguments and pledges in the past were mere hypocrisy, which, having served their purpose, can now be abandoned. This alternative is, of course, inconceivable. The only other is to grant India her fiscal freedom, and to allow her to erect a Protective tariff. There can be no doubt whether the balance lies on the side of loss or gain. The very fact that Great Britain holds such a predominant position in the Indian market now turns against her. As only one-fourth of the imports of India comes from foreign nations, an Indian tariff must from the nature of the conditions strike chiefly at British goods. Taking the imports from each country as a rough measure of its loss, the damage inflicted upon Great Britain will be more than twelve times as great as upon any other nation, and from twice to three times as great as upon all other nations put together."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Lees Smith does not teach the students of the London School of Economics such political science as is disclosed in this amazing paragraph.

For what does he here tell us? He is speaking, it will be observed, of the possibility of Great Britain adopting the policy of Imperial Preference in lieu of our existing fiscal policy, commonly called "Free Trade"; and he affects to be discussing, from the strict economical point of view, what will be the fiscal position of India under the new system. He has the surprising audacity, speaking as a lecturer on economics, to tell us definitely that there are only "two alternatives" by which British statesmen will be confronted—(1) the one alternative being to "sacrifice India to the interests of British capital," whatever that may mean; and (2) the other alternative being "to grant India her

fiscal freedom, and to allow her to erect a Protective tariff"; and "an Indian tariff must from the nature of the conditions strike chiefly at British goods."

Now, I venture very respectfully to suggest that if Mr. Lees Smith were to submit these propositions to the youngest students in the most elementary class in the London School of Economics, they would probably be able to detect the absurdities in them.

In the first place, they would point out to him that there are obviously other alternatives than the two bogeys he has dressed up. And one, at any rate, of these other alternatives is, that after reasonable negotiations between the Imperial Government and the Government of the Indian Viceroy—the negotiations that are postulated as the necessary preliminary to the official adoption of any scheme of Imperial Preference—an arrangement might be arrived at, satisfactory to both the high contracting parties, by which Free Trade (so far as mutual convenience might dictate, and as revenue considerations might allow) would be established between the United Kingdom and India, with a fair amount of Protection, common to both British and Indian goods, against the products of foreign countries. Such an alternative probably never occurred to Mr. Lees Smith, because it violates the copybook economics of "Free Trade." Nevertheless, it is the alternative offered by Imperial Preference; and Mr. Smith's young students might remind him that he affects to be considering what will happen when Cobdenism shall be superseded by Imperial Preference in the fiscal system of the Empire.

In the second place, Mr. Smith's young students would ask him what becomes of his declaration *ex cathedra* that "an Indian Tariff must from the nature of the conditions strike chiefly at British goods" when, under the Tariff system which he affects to be discussing, the Indian Government has already agreed with the British Government, in consideration of reciprocal benefits, that all British goods shall be on the free or "preferred" lists of the

Indian Tariff? For instance—under "Free Trade," Lancashire cotton-goods pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. import-duty, just like Japanese or German cotton-goods, and Indian cotton-goods pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise duty—whereas, under Imperial Preference, both British and Indian goods would be on the free or preferred lists, while the necessary revenue would be obtained from import duties on Japanese hosiery, Swedish and Austrian and Japanese matches, Austrian and German glass-ware, and the numerous "dumped" commodities that now flood the Indian market to the detriment alike of British and of Indian industries.

And in the third place, Mr. Lees Smith's young students would ask him how—if he really and sincerely believes that Imperial Preference will mean increased Indian import duties on British goods—he, as M.P. for Northampton, can conscientiously recommend his Indian friends to adopt that policy? I have quoted the words of that recommendation from Mr. Smith's preface. Now, one of the staple industries of Northampton is the boot and shoe industry, and other manufactures of leather. India under "Free Trade" imposes an import duty of 5 per cent. on all such goods—and there is no countervailing excise, though the boot factories of Cawnpore are famous. Mr. Smith is fully aware of the danger of Indian competition with this British industry, though (like all Cobdenites) he seems quite blind to the more dangerous competition of the foreigner. Of the tanning industry he says (p. 34):

"These should be among the most flourishing of Indian industries, for their natural advantages are unusual. India produces quantities of raw hides and skins. The skins are of the best quality, but the proportion of first class hides is not so great. Her supply of the other necessary materials—acacia pods, bark, cutch, Indian Gumach, tanner's cassia, mangroves, and myrabolams—is also excellent. Yet her exports of tanned hides and skins are small and practically

stationary, while, on the other hand, those of raw hides and skins are great, and have more than doubled in the last nine years. The explanation is to be found in the notorious crudity of the methods of tanning."

And he adds, at page 36 :

A considerable internal demand is growing up for cheap machine-made boots and shoes, but it is met by an increase of imports. The factory system is still in its infancy. Even the factories which exist are largely dependent on the support of the military and other government departments. Cawnpore is the headquarters of the modern manufacture of boots and shoes, saddlery, trunks, and military equipment. On the other hand, there are immense local manufactures of boots and shoes under the older system. Almost every village has its shoemaker, while in the larger towns the trade occupies entire streets."

The enormous possibilities of such an industry as this to supply the rapidly-growing needs of a population of 300,000,000, that is learning to need foot-wear even among its lower classes, are obvious. Under our existing fiscal system, and equally under the system of universal Protection which Mr. Lees Smith recommends to his Indian friends, the foreigner, being protected in his own market, and aided by subsidies on shipping and so forth, will gradually acquire all that portion of the trade that cannot conveniently be supplied on the spot. But under a system of Imperial Preference as advocated by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, it would be supplied in ever-increasing volume by Northampton and other British manufacturing centres.

Mr. Lees Smith's advice to his Indian friends, and to the Indian Government, in regard to the Indian fiscal problem, simply amounts to this: "In the interests of India you should accept Imperial Preference, because (in my opinion) it will enable you to obtain universal Protection—Protection

against British goods as well as against foreign goods." The quotations I have given from his book show that this is his meaning. And yet, in his Chapter V. on Indian Protectionism, he says: "Protection can only be effective in so far as it raises prices" (p. 62). The doctrine that Protection gives employment "is of course recognized as a fallacy by all instructed opinion" (p. 63). "Protection tends to sap the vitality of industry" (p. 66). "Conservatism is the fundamental weakness of the trade of India; if it can be overcome her industries will develop without any protective tariff quite as fast as is healthy in the present unprepared condition of her labour. Conservatism is, however, the very fault which Protection is calculated to perpetuate" (p. 70). This tone—the good old Cobdenite tone—runs through the whole of Mr. Smith's book. And yet, as we have seen, his conclusion ignores all these considerations, and advocates for India a system of general Protection—inter-Imperial Protection, as well as Protection against the foreigner.

I should like to see Mr. Lees Smith bring out a second edition of his "India and the Tariff Problem" after he has mastered the elementary economic feature of Imperial Preference—that it really means inter-Imperial Preference, and not inter-Imperial Protection, as he now vainly imagines.

THE TRUTH AS TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY, SO FAR AS THE PUNJAB IS CONCERNED.

So much is said by ill-informed critics, such as Mr. Keir Hardie and now Miss Howsin, as to the practical exclusion of "Indians" from the service of their own country that it seems desirable to publish the following extract from Sir James Wilson's paper, read on December 9, 1909, before the Royal Society of Arts, which gives a statement of the facts so far as that province is concerned.

After a few preliminary remarks, Sir James went on as follows :

I can perhaps best employ the time at my disposal by asking you to consider the most important question of all—namely, what is the present condition of the mass of the population, how far have they benefited from British rule, and how has Britain discharged her trust for the welfare of these millions of human beings? It is well to remember that all power in India is derived from the King and Parliament of this country, and that the ultimate responsibility for the good government of the Empire therefore rests mainly with the seven million voters of the United Kingdom. Officials come and go, and each in his time has great personal influence for good or ill over the people committed to his charge; but the acts of any individual official, however powerful, are of little consequence when compared with the general spirit and purpose which pervade the system of administration, and with the broad results of that system on the welfare of the people as a whole.

THE GOVERNMENT.

The aim of the British Government in the Punjab, as in the rest of India, has always been to maintain order, to

repress violence and fraud, to render person and property secure, to do justice to all, to aid the poor, the weak, and the unfortunate and to confirm to every man his individual liberty of action with as few restrictions as possible, and the laws have been carefully framed with this object in the light of past experience. The officials, both European and Indian, who are immediately responsible for the administration of these laws, are animated by a similar spirit. It is often not fully realized how many of them are Indians, and how large a proportion of the powers and duties of governing have been entrusted to men drawn from the people of the province itself. When I first entered the service, thirty-four years ago (more than half-way back to annexation), the number of men exercising judicial powers, as magistrates or judges, was under 500, and of those only 320 were Indians, and no Indian held a higher post than that of assistant to a deputy commissioner or district judge. Now there are about 1,000 men invested with criminal, civil and administrative powers, and of these about 800 are Indians, 260 of them being non-official honorary magistrates; and all the subordinate officials, including, for instance, all but 100 of the 20,000 police, practically the whole of the numerous clerks, and all the 8,000 village accountants, are Indians. Of the 29 officials holding the position of district judge 22 are Indians; of the 250 assistants at headquarters of districts 150 are Indians; there are four Indian deputy-commissioners, or settlement officers, two Indian divisional judges, and generally two Indian Judges of the Chief Court, the highest court of criminal and civil jurisdiction; and four of the nine members who have hitherto composed the Legislative Council of the province have usually been Indians. So, too, in the specialized branches, such as the Public Works, Medical, Educational, and Forest Departments, which now exercise many of the functions of governing, while the control and supervision are mainly in the hands of European officials, and the spirit and

character of the administration are distinctly British, almost all the subordinate officials are everywhere Indians. In all departments the continuous tendency has for many years been to entrust more and more authority to natives of the province, carefully selected, thoroughly trained under European supervision and proved by experience to be fit to exercise power under the State without danger to the interests of the masses of the people. I am glad to be able to testify that, although there is still much room for improvement, there has, within my own recollection, been a steady and marked advance in the character of the general body of native officials. There is not only a great improvement in their intellectual attainments, but a much smaller proportion of them are open to corruption or swayed by party prejudice or given to abusing their authority, and their general trustworthiness is much higher than it used to be. This is especially the case with the few who have attained to the higher posts, some of whom have reached the European standard of rectitude, impartiality, and efficiency. But I think the best of them would admit that they would find it difficult to maintain that standard were it not for the backing they receive from their European fellows, and the influence of the general tone of the service to which they are proud to belong. The broad result of all this careful selection and training is that we have provided the people of the Punjab with a large number of trustworthy and efficient servants of the State, mainly taken from among themselves, far more honest, impartial, and at the same time sympathetic than ever ruled over them before; men whose motto may be put as: "Do justice, succour the distressed." Seldom has such far-reaching power been wielded by a body of officials with a stronger sense of public duty—a combination which guarantees a high measure of security to all, and ready aid to any class of the community which stands in need of it. Whenever any serious trouble arises in any part of the Province, such as crime, disease, drought, earthquake,

flood, or even a destructive hailstorm, some official hastens to the spot, brings help to the distressed people, and sets in motion the State's machinery to remedy the evil.

From the first it has been the policy of the British Government to encourage the growth of public spirit and enlist the services of the leaders of the people by establishing district boards and municipal committees, which correspond to the county councils and town councils in this country. Each of the twenty-nine districts has its district board presided over by the Deputy Commissioner who is also magistrate and collector of the district, and some subdivisions of districts have subordinate local boards. Altogether, the number of members is 1,500, of whom 600 are elected. They are responsible for most of the roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and other local matters in the rural parts of the province, and the money placed at their disposal for these purposes has steadily risen, not so much by increase of taxation as by increase of the amount allotted to them by the central Government. It is now about £325,000 a year. Where the members are elected it is seldom that much interest is taken in the election, and at the meetings of the boards there is rarely any voting on disputed questions, as the members prefer to trust to the superior knowledge and impartiality of their official chairman and readily adopt his suggestions. There is somewhat more animation in the proceedings of the municipal committees which manage the affairs of two million people in 137 towns, and comprise nearly 1,500 members, of whom 1,178 are non-officials. Their total expenditure is nearly £400,000 per annum, and the progress made in the towns in education, sanitation, medical relief, and public improvements generally is, on the whole, satisfactory, though still far behind a European standard.

In the villages a large amount of local administration is done by the hereditary headmen and by the leading land-owners who have been placed in charge of groups of villages, and form a valuable link between the Deputy-

Commissioner and the people. Many of the principal landowners, as well as of the leading townsmen, have been invested with powers as honorary magistrates and do good service in aiding the official magistrates to administer the law. There is thus a large number of private individuals who take part in local affairs, and through whom the officials, on whom the chief responsibility rests, keep in touch with the bulk of the population. Although there are exceptions, these non-official authorities of all grades, and especially the heads of old families, who exercise great influence, owing to the extent of their estates, their wealth, their character, or the traditional respect they command among their dependants and neighbours, are a great support to the Government whose projects for the benefit of the people they, as a rule, loyally endeavour to carry out.

It may interest you if I briefly summarize the changes made in the constitution of the Legislative Council of the province. Hitherto, excluding the Lieutenant-Governor, who presides at all Council meetings, there have been nine members, of whom five have usually been non-officials. All the members were nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. Now, the recent Act fixes the maximum number of members at thirty, but for the present the usual number will be twenty-four, though the Lieutenant-Governor has power to appoint not more than two additional members as experts on any question before the Council. Of these twenty-four members not more than ten can be officials, so that the non-officials will ordinarily have a majority of at least four. For the present only five of the twenty-four will be elected; but as soon as a proper electorate can be found, the principle of election will be extended to the representation of the landholders and of the Mohammedan community. Meanwhile, the remaining nineteen members will be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. The five members to be elected at present will be elected—one by the University of the Punjab, one by

the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, and three by the municipal and cantonment committees of the large towns. The University member will be elected by the members of the Senate and the Honorary Fellows, and must himself belong to one of these two bodies. The Commerce member will be elected by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, and must himself be a member of that body. The three municipal members will be elected by those members of certain important municipal and cantonment committees who have not been appointed *ex-officio*. For this purpose three groups of committees have been formed, each of which will elect a member. The Cis-Sutlej group is made up of the municipal and cantonment committees of Delhi, Simla, Umbala, Ludhiana, and Ferozepore. The central group consists of the committees of Lahore, Amritsar, and Jullumdur; and the western group of those of Multan, Rawal Pindi, and Sealkote. A candidate for one of these municipal seats must have a place of residence in the group and must be, or have served for three years as, a member of the municipal committee belonging to that group. It will thus be seen that in no case will the number of electors be large, and that the important principle has been laid down that in each case the elected member must be a true representative of the body he represents.

The financial statement will be examined by a committee of the Council, consisting of twelve members, of whom six will be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, and six elected by the non-official members. Members will also have the power of putting questions and moving resolutions, subject to certain restrictions and the control of the president. It is to be hoped that these new powers will be used with discretion, and not employed as a means of wasting time or worrying the responsible authorities.

If I may express an opinion, I think that this enlargement of the numbers and powers of the Legislative Council will ultimately work out for the good of the province. It

will no doubt have its dangers and drawbacks, which will require to be guarded against. It will tend to keep the higher officials more closely to headquarters, and so less in touch with the people ; it will necessitate their giving more time to talk and less to thinking and to action, and so tend to lessen efficiency, or lead to a costly increase in their number. It may tend to weaken the authority of the local officials of all departments, and especially of the Indian officials, which would be disastrous to the interests of peace, order and security, and especially of the poorer classes. But it will have the great advantages of bringing the leaders of the people into closer relationship with the officials of the Government, of giving them some share of the responsibilities of governing, and of opening a way for the ambitious among them to render important service to the State and to their fellow-countrymen outside the ranks of the paid officials. The system will for some time be on its trial, and it remains to be seen whether the men selected will rise to the occasion and prove that they are fitted to discharge their new duties. I have great faith in the general common sense and good intentions of the large majority of Punjabis of all classes, and trust that, after the first excitement has died down, it will be found that the new members of the Council are imbued with a spirit of public duty and a desire to advance the common weal, and are therefore real "pillars" of the State. But the true representatives of the masses of the people, and especially of the peasant proprietors, the tenants and the labourers, must for many years to come be the officials, both European and Indian, whose main duty, after the maintenance of law, order and justice, is to "cherish the poor."

PRINCE ITŌ : HIS LIFE WORK, AND HIS INFLUENCE UPON THE NATIONAL POLICY OF JAPAN.

BY LANCELOT LAWTON

(Late Special Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in the Far East).

THE assassination of Prince Itō by the hand of a Korean fanatic has removed from the world a statesman to whom history will assign a place in the companionship of the illustrious. Side by side with Washington, with Bismarck, and with Cavour, he will take his rank among the makers of nations. In all spheres of statecraft—in constructive policy, in diplomacy, in party leadership—his genius and his courage were equally conspicuous. His life's work is the story of the liberation of Japan from the toils of feudalism and of her rise to power and prestige. A man of his remarkable attainments would in any country have exercised a determining influence upon national destiny ; in Japan, where the last half century has seen a transition so stupendous, there awaited him opportunities that provided the fullest possible scope for the exercise of his extraordinary qualities. Sooner or later Japan was bound to take her place among the Powers of the world, but it is no exaggeration to say that without the wise counsels of Itō her progress would have been considerably delayed. The career of this great man, like that of many another prominent figure in history, was frequently marked by romantic and at times even dramatic incident. Born in humble circumstances, he belonged to the Chōshū, a clan which, with the Satsuma, shares the honour of having given to Japan the majority of her great men. His career may be said to have started with his first visit to England in 1863. He left behind him a country that was engaged in a bitter struggle to throw off the yoke of feudalism. The feeling against

foreigners was then at its height. Throughout the land the cry was heard, "Let us expel the barbarians," and the Government was urged by popular clamour to convert the temple bells into cannon and to mount these along the coast as a means of protection against invasion. The Shōgunate was looked upon as being responsible for all the ills which afflicted the land, and the movement that was to pave the way for the restoration of the monarchy, and the emancipation of the lower orders of society was making rapid progress. Among other laws that gave expression to the anti-foreign spirit of the day there was one which, under penalty of death, sternly forbade Japanese leaving the shores of their native land. It was in these circumstances that Itō, then a mere youth, decided to take his life in his own hands and to visit London for the purposes of acquiring Western knowledge. Among others he found as a companion, Inouye, who remained his life-long friend, and who, like himself, was destined to play a prominent part in the making of Modern Japan. At this early stage in his career, and amid circumstances that would have disheartened the bravest of men, he displayed that strong individuality which in later years was to carry him to a foremost position in the State. He realized that the moment had arrived when Japan stood in need of enlightened leaders, and that continued resistance to the Powers would probably mean her effacement as a nation. As a true, and above all a courageous patriot, he felt that his duty lay not in taking part in the strife of feudal lords, but that it consisted rather in seeking out some of that knowledge which gave to Western countries the means with which they coerced the Shōgunate and the clans. There have been times in the lives of all great men when their disregard for the obligations imposed by maladministration, no matter how great the risk involved, has proved a deciding factor in their careers. Itō, who throughout a long life of usefulness to the State never swerved from his devotion to constituted authority, did not hesitate on the threshold of his career to defy the law of

his land, and to run the risk of punishment by death. He has related an account of his adventures which is in itself a striking and faithful picture of the stirring times that prevailed during the period that immediately preceded the Restoration. According to the story, he succeeded in persuading an English steamship company to facilitate the passage of himself and four companions who joined him in the enterprise. They were compelled to discard the two swords which it was customary for *Samurai* to wear at their sides, and to disguise themselves as merchants—a class in the community occupying at that period a position of marked inferiority in the social order. Their attire consisted of second-hand European clothes, and Itō in his narrative mentioned that a constant source of discomfort was the wearing of boots several sizes too large for the feet. To assist further in the concealment of their identity they cut their hair in foreign style, and the great statesman subsequently remarked with some pride: "Although our physicians at that time had their queues cut off, I may safely say that we set the first example to the nation for dressing the hair in foreign fashion." At the last moment a doubt arose as to whether passages by the steamer would be available, and when this information was conveyed to the little band there was much consternation. "In the event of our not being able to leave," Itō declared, "we are ruined and disgraced; so much so that we have no alternative but to kill ourselves here, because if we go home with this semi-foreign appearance we shall certainly be killed as spies. So we had better die at this moment rather than be brought up at the court, making a sorry crestfallen picture, to be sentenced to death." The members of the party were about to commit *hara-kiri* when the representative of the foreign shipping firm begged them to be rational, and to await the results of his further efforts in their behalf. Eventually all obstacles were overcome, and Itō and his companions succeeded in reaching Shanghai, where they re-embarked on a sailing-ship bound for England, via the

Cape of Good Hope. During the voyage, with a view to acquiring some knowledge of navigation, they took their share in the ordinary duties of the crew. On arriving in London Itō secured apartments in Gower Street, with Professor Williamson of the London University. One day a member of the family enquired of him the whereabouts of his native place, to which he replied, "Chōshū." He was next asked as to whether Chōshū was the same as "Shimonoseki, where a foreign ship has been fired upon by the natives." Itō relates that his curiosity was instantly aroused, and that he borrowed a newspaper from which he "learnt for the first time that Parliament was considering the advisability of sending a punitive expedition to Japan to chastise the Chōshū clan." Having realized as a result of his own observation the greatness and power of England, he saw clearly that anything in the nature of resistance on the part of his clansmen would be utter folly, and he decided there and then to return to Japan and endeavour to dissuade them from following so suicidal a policy. Together with his companions, he promptly abandoned his studies and left England for Japan. On arriving at Yedo (Tōkyō) he was told that the Chōshū clan, to which he belonged, had all been banished. He then proceeded to Yokohama, where for some time he remained in hiding at a foreign hotel in fear of his life, representing that he was a Portuguese who had recently arrived in the country. It was not long before he learnt that the Powers had despatched a punitive squadron to Shimonoseki, whereupon he immediately sought out the British Minister at the Legation. "Sir," said Itō, "we were sent to Europe by our Prince, but on hearing that war was going to break out between the Powers and Japan we have come back in order to try to bring the conflict to an amicable settlement. Would you be good enough to escort us to the Chōshū clan?" It was with great difficulty that he succeeded in persuading the British representative to believe that he was a man of sufficient standing to intervene in the matter, but eventually his

proposals were accepted by the Ministers of all the Powers concerned. He and his companions were then conveyed on a foreign warship to Himeji, in the Bungo province, where they hired a fishing boat to take them to the Chōshū territory. "On landing there," Itō declared, "we were surprised to see great excitement prevailing throughout our clan, the purpose of expelling foreigners having reached its focus, so that women as well as men were ready to fight at any moment, being powerfully armed with long lances and dressed in a way to make their movements easy, and having white cloth bandages round their heads, with their sleeves tied up to their shoulders by strings." The members of the brave little mission changed their foreign garb for the dress of the *Samurai*, and resumed their swords. They next proceeded to Yamaguchi, where they were received by the Chōshū Daimyō and his Ministers. During the long conference that followed they used all their eloquence in an earnest appeal for an amicable settlement with the foreigners, and pointed out the futility of offering armed resistance to the formidable fleet of eighteen warships then riding at anchor in Himeji. Moreover, they urged the necessity for maintaining peaceful relations with the outside world in order that attention should be concentrated upon an endeavour to restore the Imperial power, and thus by creating a United Japan to render her in time capable of withstanding aggression from outside. In spite of this heroic and patriotic appeal, however, the Chōshū clan could not be brought to reason, and as their reply to the demands of the foreign representatives was wholly unsatisfactory and evasive, the British Admiral, at the expiration of the period of the ultimatum, opened fire on the shore batteries.

Although, owing to the blind obstinacy of his clansmen, Itō's first efforts to bring tranquillity to his native land ended in failure, they succeeded in bringing him into prominent notice. Shortly afterwards he was employed in making peace between the Chōshū and the allied forces. From that moment he was marked out as a man destined

to play a great part in the future of his country. Kido, the chief of his clan, soon made handsome recognition of his ability, and it was largely due to the influence exercised in so high a quarter that he owed his first promotion to official rank. In 1868 he was appointed a Councillor of State, in which office the knowledge he had acquired in England served him in good stead. On the first occasion when the foreign representatives were admitted to the sacred presence of the youthful Emperor, he was permitted to act as interpreter. He next occupied several important administrative posts, and, in 1870, was despatched to America, where he studied the banking regulations of the country and devised a system which was eventually responsible for placing the finances of Japan upon a sound basis. A year later he again visited England, this time in altogether different circumstances from those which had attended the self-appointed mission of his more youthful days. His capacity was that of junior member of Prince Iwakura's Embassy, whose object was to induce the Powers to revise their treaty relations with Japan. On his return in 1873 he again received promotion in official rank, and was appointed Minister of the Home Department, in which capacity he instituted many reforms of a far-reaching character.

Meanwhile the agitation for constitutional government had gathered immense force in the country, and in 1881 a proclamation was issued, announcing that in the year 1890 a Parliament would be established. Soon afterwards Itō was ordered to proceed to Europe, there to investigate the constitutions of other nations. "We are strongly determined," said an Imperial message to him on the eve of his departure, "to make the new form of government complete and perfect, and We have already made due preparations. Yet it is very important for Us to take the forms of the European Powers into Our consideration before We adopt the one which We consider best suited to Our needs." Undoubtedly the greatest achievement in Itō's career was the framing of the Constitution, and

there is reason to believe that he himself was more proud of this than of any other task which he performed at the bidding of his Sovereign. He realized that the peculiar conditions that had governed the history of his country called for a singularly rigid application of the principles of representative government. He realized, also, that while the majority of his fellow-countrymen were clamouring for a voice in national affairs, few of them were fitted, either by reason of knowledge or attainment, to take upon themselves a share in the responsibilities of controlling the destiny of a nation that had so recently emerged from the darkness of seclusion to the light of intercourse with the outer world. At the same time he did not fail to recognize that it was incumbent upon him as a far-seeing statesman to devise some system in the nature of a compromise with the popular opinion that prevailed at the time. He knew in his own mind that as soon as the serfs were emancipated, and the *Samurai* were deprived of their swords, educational influences would make themselves felt to such an extent that the masses would no longer tolerate a despotism even in its most beneficent form. Yet it must not be forgotten that he was essentially loyal. He served no other master, he knew no other god, than his Emperor. From this spiritual influence, this influence which inspired his every thought and deed throughout a life of untiring devotion in the service of his Monarch, there sprung the desire to make the best possible use of what, apart from his own lofty sentiment on the subject, he regarded as pre-eminently a serviceable doctrine, the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor. The centuries during which the Sovereign had remained isolated, as it were, in the Imperial tabernacle at the ancient capital of Kyōtō had inspired among the masses of the people a deep and enduring reverence for the centre of all authority as embodied in the person of the Emperor. The nation had swept away the effete administration of the Shōgunate, upon the tomb of which Itō wrote perhaps the best epitaph when he said

that the *Samurai* had lost all their vigour and power, and that the Shōgun, deprived of all military support, was compelled to surrender the supreme authority, an end "that was the result of three hundred years of tranquillity in a dream of eternal peace." But there were circumstances, other than its oppression, that brought about the downfall of the Shōgunate. These lay in its inability to resist the demands of the foreign Powers. The general dissatisfaction that prevailed throughout the country paved the way for the restoration of the Monarchy. At the same time the coming of the foreigners and their superior knowledge, no less than their overwhelming military strength, led to a widespread desire for Western learning. This desire, however, it must be confessed, had its origin in patriotic motives. The conviction rapidly spread that representative government on the lines of that existing in Western countries would produce national efficiency. In view of the trend of popular opinion, Itō found himself face to face with a problem as complex as any that has presented itself to the mind of a statesman. He was not unmindful of the dangers that were likely to beset the path of Japan in the future. The ill-considered actions of the clans had caused the Powers to watch closely her foreign policy. Moreover, at that time it was a matter of some doubt as to whether her continental neighbour, China, was not the stronger of the two countries. Itō knew that Japan must win her right to recognition among the nations of the world in more than one conflict on the battle-field. At the same time, however, he was sufficiently patriotic to realize that were she granted a period of peace, so that she might undertake internal reform and acquire the art of modern warfare, she would emerge triumphantly from all her trials. No finer material out of which to mould a great nation could be conceived than were the people of Japan at this period. No longer was the privilege of bearing arms restricted to the proud *Samurai*; all sections of the community, including a large class who had been

branded in pre-Restoration days as "non-humans," were permitted to serve in the Imperial army. The military forces of the Empire had already been pitted successfully against the trained and picked warriors who followed the great Siago in the Satsuma Rebellion. On that occasion, as in later and larger campaigns, the common people in the ranks, imbued with the desire to show that they were the equal in bravery with the *Samurai* whose underlings they had been for centuries, vied with each other in acts of gallantry. When Itō set out upon his quest for a Constitution he bore in mind all these things. While in sympathy with the demand for representative government, he was also strongly opposed to any form of popular control that would tend to diminish the supreme authority of the Emperor, or to lessen the reverence for the Throne already deeply rooted in the minds of the masses by centuries of usage. Here, while exhibiting his simple devotion to his Monarch, he displayed a foresight and a wisdom that found expression in his crowning achievement, the framing of the Constitution. His principle object, therefore, in this great work was to preserve inviolate the doctrine of the divinity of the Sovereign, and to make the fullest possible use of it as a means of bringing about national efficiency. In short, he felt that Western influences must inevitably be assimilated; but while prepared for this much, he was determined that the process should not in any way dim the lustre of the Throne, the Throne which he regarded as the rock upon which the Empire was built. In other words, he decided that loyalty should be perpetuated as the soul of the nation, and that whatever forms or rituals the people might subscribe to in their adoption of alien religions, his efforts must be directed towards upholding the one and only faith that had found general acceptance throughout the land—a faith that was nothing more or less than an almost dogmatic belief in the infallibility of the Emperor. In elaborate commentaries Itō had, in effect, explained that these were the motives which inspired him. How far he succeeded is evident from

a study of the Constitution itself—a document so ingeniously framed that it contains no single clause that could be interpreted as diminishing the power vested in the Throne for centuries. Itō frankly said that he endeavoured to adopt a monarchical Constitution for Japan in spite of his recognition of the fact that a popular Constitution was best fitted to the conditions that shaped the destinies of Western nations. He wished to bring about what he termed a governmental compromise likely to harmonize with the history of the country. While realizing that the United States Constitution, which provided for a republican government over a vast continental federation, was a splendid achievement, it was not a matter for wonder that he found it altogether useless as a source of study in his search for an ideal Constitution for Japan. The British Constitution, he held, was altogether too flexible to find favour as a model. The French Constitution was the result of the complete destruction of the monarchical power, and on that ground alone was unsuited to the requirements of Japan. The Prussian Constitution, with its limitations of popular privileges, was more suited to the conditions obtaining in Japan than any other Constitution to be found in the West. To this, therefore, more than to any other source, Itō confessed that he looked for guidance. He contended, however, that the Constitution eventually adopted for Japan was different in essential details from the Constitutions of any other country. The latter, he pointed out, generally resulted from a collision between the ruler and the ruled, while the former was made with one accord between the Emperor and the people in order to protect and to promote the national powers and prerogatives. Itō, however, seems to have overlooked the circumstance that for centuries the ruler of Japan had never exercised authority to the same extent as had Western Monarchs, and that the Restoration, which led to the demand for constitutional government, was the outcome of conflict with the actual ruler, the Shōgun, a conflict which, if it was not conducted by the

masses, was undertaken by the majority of clansmen, who virtually supplied the place that should have been occupied by the masses.

Article III. of the Constitution of Japan reads, "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable," and Itō's comment upon this was a striking revelation of the reverence in which he held his Monarch. "The sacred Throne was established at a time," he wrote, "when the heavens and the earth became separated (*Kojiki*). The Emperor is heaven-descended, divine, and sacred; he is pre-eminent above all his subjects; he must be revered, and is inviolable. He has, indeed, to pay due respect to the law, but the law has no power to hold him accountable to it. Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also shall he not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion." Article V. stipulates that "the Emperor shall exercise the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet." Itō wished it to be understood clearly that the Emperor was not only the centre of the executive, but was also the source and fountain-head of the legislative power. He did not hold with the tendency in Europe to regard laws as contracts between governing and governed in the enactment of which both Sovereign and people had equal share. "The use of the Diet," he commented, "was to enable the Head of the State to perform his functions, while the duty of the Diet was to give advice and consent." Under Article VI. a bill passed by the Diet must be sanctioned by the Emperor before it can become law, and, moreover, a discretionary power rests with the Sovereign as to the date upon which it shall be enforced. In this connection Itō explained that laws must necessarily emanate at the command of the Emperor, and hence it was his sanction that made the law. It is competent for His Majesty to dissolve the Diet and to carry on the government of the country by Imperial Ordinance until such time as he may deem it necessary to convoke it again. It may be urged that such a procedure would be altogether out of

place in a constitutional country; but it must be remembered, as Itō has told us, that the Constitution of Japan is unlike that of any other nation. As a matter of fact, the House of Representatives has on several occasions been dissolved by command of the Emperor, and the government of the country conducted for a considerable period by means of Imperial Ordinances. On reassembling, the Diet can annul Imperial Ordinances, but it has no power to take action in regard to their application in the past. No matter what discontent may be felt with regard to the conduct of affairs during a period of dissolution, it is extremely doubtful whether, owing to the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor held by all classes in the nation, any member of Parliament would have the temerity to rise in his place and censure the temporary enactments which had been issued by his Majesty. Itō pointed out that the power to issue ordinances was in all cases a consequence of the sovereign power of the Emperor, and that the issuing of cabinet or departmental ordinances was to be regarded as an exercise of the sovereign power delegated by the Emperor. He further emphasized his belief in the practicability of centring all authority in the Throne when he explained that the function of the Diet was to deliberate upon the laws and that of the Emperor to determine them. Moreover, he intended that the Ministers should be directly responsible to the Emperor and indirectly so to the people, and that the degree of responsibility of the Minister should be decided by the Sovereign in virtue of his supreme power over the land. For the Minister-President and other Ministers, he commented, being alike personally appointed by the Emperor, the proceedings of each one of them were in every respect controlled by the will of the Emperor, and the Minister-President himself had no power or control over the posts occupied by other Ministers, while the latter ought not to be dependent upon the former. He deprecated the Ministry being regarded as a corporate body, on the ground "that the evil of such a system is that the

power of party combination will ultimately overrule the supreme power of the Sovereign."

On his return to Japan in 1883, Itō began to draft the Constitution, and his great work was not completed until four years later. In the meantime a Privy Council was inaugurated for the purpose of discussing this document and deciding upon its final provisions. It was to the "Illustrious Virtue" of the Emperor, who was constantly present at the deliberations of the assembly, that Itō attributed the consummation of his labours. Only two years ago His Majesty marked his appreciation of the great statesman's services by willing that the historic edifice attached to the Imperial Palace at Akasaka, in which the Constitution was drafted, should be removed to Omori, a little seaside resort near Tōkyō, where it should form part of a private residence then being built for Itō. Last year, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution, Itō received a number of guests in his new house, which had been named "Constitution Hall," and in the course of an eloquent speech during a banquet ordered by the command of the Emperor, he gave expression to the following passage, which showed how in later years he dwelt reminiscently upon the motives which had guided him in his task. "As the time came," he said, "for the Emperor to decide whether the country be given a Constitution, men of learning differed as to the consequences which might or might not follow on the State organization of the country. I maintained that Government by Constitution would in no way affect the State organization, except it might entail some modification of the administrative organization. It is true that if we were to go back to the days of remote antiquity the Japanese or Chinese classicists would find it difficult to draw a line between State and administrative organizations. But as to the State organization of this country, it can be said that ever since the first day of our authentic history, Japan has never experienced a single revolution. The Imperial line of

descent runs unbroken from the Emperor Jimmu to this day: it has always stood firm and unshaken. Japan is a country ruled over by a sole and everlasting dynasty descending from the Emperor Jimmu. Hence I held firmly to the contention that there could be no change in the State organization. Nevertheless, I admitted that our administrative organization might change according to the needs of the times. It was not unnatural that the State and administrative organizations were indistinguishable, and so long as they failed to grasp this circumstance they were not to be expected to come to any conclusion as to whether a Constitution would affect the State organization or whether it would stop at the modification of the administrative organization. Fortunately, however, not only did the political world of the day side with me in my contention, but the Emperor gave his judgment, and it was decided that the country be given a Constitution. But for this starting-point in her new career, there is no telling what confusion and trouble might have overtaken Japan." There is no doubt that the success achieved by Itō in drafting a Constitution that, while conceding representative government, preserved inviolate the prerogative exercised by the Throne from time immemorial, endeared him in a peculiar manner to his Sovereign. The relations between the Monarch and the statesman were henceforth founded upon more than appreciation on the one side and loyalty on the other. It is no exaggeration to say that Itō worshipped his Emperor; for, in spite of his admiration for the beneficent influences of religion, he himself held to no other faith save that which taught him that all wisdom and all good found its origin in the sacred Throne of the Mikados. "I regard religion itself," he said not long before his death, "as quite unnecessary for a nation's life. Science is far above superstition; and what is religion, Buddhist or Christian, but superstition, and therefore a possible source of weakness to a nation? I do not regret the tendency to free-thought and atheism which is almost universal in Japan,

because I do not look upon it as a source of danger to the community." Itō, then, was more than a statesman and a courtier—he was a worshipper at the shrine of Imperial Ancestry. And it was due to his efforts more than to those of any other statesman that the doctrine of the Emperor's divinity lost nothing of its hold upon the masses during a period of upheaval and transition, when Western influences came violently into conflict with those of an ancient civilization. The Emperor rewarded his devotion by a never-failing confidence. No change of Ministry, no appointment of high consequence, no development of national policy, was made without Itō first being summoned to the Imperial Presence. Not only did he frame the Constitution, but he undertook the work of establishing representative government. When the first session of the Diet opened on November 29, 1890, the Liberals and the Progressists were the only two political parties in the country. Had they chosen to unite, they could have commanded an overwhelming majority. The Ministers of State, while recognizing that representative government was inevitable, nevertheless looked with marked disfavour upon the advent of party politicians in the Legislature. They held that the Cabinet should consist of non-party statesmen, and that as it was alone responsible to the Emperor, the defeat of the Government in the House of Representatives should not necessarily involve resignation. As from the very outset, the views of the Ministers were opposed to those of the party politicians, there were violent collisions between the Government and the Diet. The first assembly of the House of Representatives enjoyed an exceedingly short life. After thirteen months it was dissolved, owing to its insistence that the Budget should be curtailed. After the General Election, the Diet reassembled on May 5, 1892. In August of the same year Itō became Prime Minister. It was not long before he was compelled to realize that the party politicians were conducting an agitation which, in view of the fact that the foreign rela-

tions of the country were in a delicate state, was little short of suicidal. The Opposition insisted in very strong terms on the strict enforcement of the treaties with foreign Powers. While the Cabinet was looked upon as excessively weak in its foreign policy, it soon gave evidence of its ability to deal with the domestic situation, and within twenty months the Diet was dissolved. The third Diet assembled on May 15, 1894, but within eighteen days was dissolved, on account of a renewal of the attempt to interfere with the foreign policy of the Government. At this period Itō, who had the assistance of one of the most brilliant Foreign Ministers Japan has ever possessed, Count Mutsu, was endeavouring to bring about a revision of the treaties. He regarded the agitation of the party politicians as essentially anti-foreign in nature, and feared lest it might endanger the success of his efforts. As a matter of fact, an agreement had almost been reached with Great Britain concerning a revised treaty, and Itō realized that the maintenance of smooth foreign relations was necessary if this was to be completed, and if other Powers were to be induced to reconsider their treaties with Japan. The attitude of the Diet caused grave misgivings as to whether the country had yet reached a stage when it was fit to undertake the responsibilities of even a limited form of representative government. The first dissolution had not been altogether unexpected. The Ministry was then composed largely of statesmen possessing but moderate ability, and it was recognized that the conflict was not necessarily due to the fault of the Diet.

When Itō, supported by a body of strong and trusted statesmen, assumed power, the Diet was given a trial under the most favourable circumstances. That it adopted an attitude which was inimical to the best interests of the State, and which twice called for dissolution, caused much disappointment. Three months elapsed before a General Election took place, and the fourth Diet assembled on October 18, 1894. The outbreak of the Chino-Japanese War in the same year came at an opportune moment in

the domestic affairs of the country, inasmuch as it united the various factions within the Empire against a common enemy. The Diet loyally supported the Government in the two sessions that were held during the war, but it was understood that such support was merely the recognition of the duties of patriotism, and would come to an end as soon as peace was restored. When the Government yielded to the demands of Russia, France, and Germany, and consented to the retrocession to China of the Kwan-tung Peninsula, there were not wanting ominous signs that a renewal of opposition was about to begin. Itō, who had negotiated the treaty of peace, and who had realized that Japan could not possibly contest the demands of the combined Powers, saw clearly, with the wonderful foresight which has always characterized his career, that if the Constitution was to be saved, some effort must be made to obtain Parliamentary support for the Government. With as much secrecy as was possible under the circumstances he approached, in December, 1896, Count Itagaki, the leader of the Liberals, with whom he concluded an *entente*. This recognition of party politics was a concession by Itō to the spirit of the times. There was no doubt that he believed in his own heart that the ideal form of government was a Ministry responsible to the Emperor alone. The Constitution which he had framed bore on the face of it this interpretation. Itagaki was only too ready to welcome so powerful an ally, for he realized that the prolongation of the conflict with the Administration might conceivably endanger the very existence of representative government itself. At the time party politicians were ill-fitted by reason of their inexperience, apart from their general incompetency, to undertake the control of the country; and rather than that this should have been handed over to them Itō would no doubt have seriously considered whether he should not have advised the Emperor to suspend the Constitution. His *entente* with the Liberals

was therefore timely and wise. With this aid the Government carried most of their measures.

In May, 1897, Count Itagaki was given a Cabinet portfolio as Home Minister. The appointment of a party leader to a position in the Government was a sign of the changing times. In spite of the fact that the Government had the support of the Liberals, the Opposition was exceedingly powerful, and there were many suggestions both from within and without the Cabinet that a coalition government should be formed as a compromise. Count Itagaki was a bitter opponent of coalition, on the ground that it would not advance the principles of constitutional government, and that it would ignore the essential elements of party politics. Rather than submit to any compromise, he tendered his resignation, and Itō, as a mark of gratitude for the support which he had accorded him during his Ministry, also followed him into retirement. On this occasion there was no dissolution. A new Cabinet was formed in 1896 with Marquis Matsukata as Prime Minister and Count Okuma as Foreign Minister. Considerable discontent existed in the nation, owing not only to the foreign but also to the domestic policy of the previous Government. There was a loud demand for the final abolition of clan control, and the party politicians strenuously advocated that in its place should be substituted an Administration responsible to Parliament alone. It was felt throughout the length and breadth of the land that Japan had been deeply humiliated by Itō's policy, which had permitted the retrocession of the Kwan-tung Peninsula to China, and the members of the Diet, representing the sentiment of their constituents, urged the adoption of a strong, almost belligerent, foreign policy. The nation confidently expected that the new Cabinet would prove amenable to the Parliamentary will, but, unfortunately, during their brief term of office they were largely occupied in settling dissensions among themselves.

As time passed, however, it was generally recognized

that Itō was the only statesman who could be entrusted with the task of attempting a reconciliation of the form of constitutional government that obtained in Japan with the active elements that had developed in consequence of the growth of party politics. He was called upon to form his third Ministry, and succeeded in the task. Marquis Inouye was given the portfolio of Finance, while Marquis Saionji and Marquis Katsura, both of whom were destined at a later date to become Premiers, were for the first time given Cabinet rank, the former being appointed Minister of Education and the latter Minister of War. The Ministry, however, was not able to withstand the attacks of the combined Opposition. The Diet, which had assembled on May 19, 1898, after the General Election in March, was dissolved after sitting for twenty-three days. In presenting his resignation, Itō adopted what under the circumstances was the extremely significant course of recommending His Majesty to consult the leaders of the Opposition with a view to their formation of a new Ministry. By this time Count Itagaki had become a convert to compromise. The Liberals and the Progressists consented to sink their differences, and they were merged under the title of the Constitutional Party. A Coalition Cabinet was formed, with Count Okuma as Premier and Count Itagaki as Home Minister. This arrangement was looked upon as a first experiment in party government, and was therefore awaited by the whole nation with eager expectation.

Whether, in recommending the Opposition as successors to his Ministry, it was the intention of Itō to give the party politicians enough rope with which to hang themselves was not altogether clear. That they became tired of governmental life after only a brief experience of power, and that they did hang themselves, are undeniable facts. It could not be said that the Coalition Cabinet was hampered by a Diet in session, for it was in that brief period between the dissolution and the reassembling after the General Election that the Government succumbed. As a matter

of fact, the experiment of a party Ministry was a pitiable fiasco. There were repeated quarrels over the spoils of office, and the supporters of the Cabinet showed little hesitation in claiming rewards as the price of their fidelity. After a stormy career, lasting only from June to November, the Ministry recognized the impossibility of conducting the affairs of State under the party system, and resigned. It was clear that the time was not ripe for the ascendancy of party politics in Japan. The military men, led by Marshal Prince Yamagata, had been bitterly opposed from the very outset to representative government in any form whatever, and their attitude towards the Okuma-Itagaki coalition, which, in their opinion, involved an almost revolutionary development of representative government, was one of utter detestation. They realized, as soon as the Ministry fell, that the moment had arrived when they should increase their influence in the councils of State. It was held that Marshal Yamagata was the only statesman who at this juncture could form a Cabinet with any prospect of a prolonged retention of office. This contention rested upon the belief that he was opposed to the recognition of party politics made by Itō when he recommended the Opposition as his successors. But it is open to question whether Itō was not animated by an early realization of the fact that the results of the experiment would cure the nation, at least for a time, of its ardent desire for party government. September of 1900 was memorable in the history of the domestic affairs of Japan. It was in that month that Itō came to the conclusion that the time had arrived when he could assume the rôle of a party leader. Instead of seeking an alliance with one or other of the organizations already in existence, he promptly proceeded to form his own party under the title of the *Seiyukai*, or Political Association. As soon as he frankly entered the domain of party politics, men of prominence in the land, realizing the value of his enormous influence to the cause which they had at heart, made haste to rally round him. The *Seiyukai* commanded

a majority in the House of Representatives, and it was not long before they made the position of the Yamagata Ministry untenable. In October, 1900, Itō, for the fourth time in his career, was called upon to form a Cabinet. The period that followed was of special interest to political students of the times, inasmuch as it marked the first conflict between the two Houses. While by reason of his creation of the *Seiyukai* Itō had secured an overwhelming majority for his policy in the House of Representatives, he lacked support in the House of Peers. Having regard to the differences of opinion which have repeatedly arisen in this country between the Lords and the Commons, the Japanese method of settling disagreements of a similar nature would appear to accentuate the difficulty of any reconciliation of the points of view of East and West. When a deadlock was reached an Imperial rescript was issued inviting the Peers to reconsider their position, and in consequence they adopted, though, it must be confessed, with little, if any, conviction, a more conciliatory policy towards party government. For the second time since the Constitution had become operative abundant proof was forthcoming that the party politicians were not yet capable of conducting the Administration for any length of time. After being in office for seven months the Cabinet resigned, owing to their inability to agree among themselves on questions of finance. There was no immediate dissolution of Parliament. With the passing of the Itō Ministry it may be said that there came into existence the *Genro*, or "Elder Statesmen." These were four in number—Itō, Inouye, Matsukata, and Yamagata—all of whom had been Cabinet Ministers, and had taken a prominent part in shaping the destinies of Japan since the time of the restoration of the Monarchy. As not one of them would take upon himself the task of forming a new Government, a younger man, Marquis Katsura, stepped into the breach. But the Emperor, who in the troubled days that preceded and followed the granting of a constitutional government had

depended for advice upon the Elder Statesmen, was not willing that their services should be even temporarily dispensed with. While he recognized that the active duties of administration called for the energies of the younger men, he placed at its true value the experience of former Ministers who had been largely responsible for bringing about the national transition. He was not slow to realize that their retention in high advisory capacities would lead the country along lines of progress that were consistent with the lessons of the past, and would act as a brake upon any excess of zeal that might be displayed by statesmen new to high office. In other words, he sought to combine in his councils the experience of age with the energy of comparative youth. With his resignation of the Premiership, which he had held for the fourth time, Itō's active career in the arena of party politics may be said to have come to an end. The brief history of representative government in Japan has afforded striking proof of his wisdom in framing the Constitution so as to preserve inviolate the supreme authority of the Throne. Few politicians of strictly party views have risen to eminence in the land. Moreover, there has not been wanting evidence from time to time that many members of the National Assembly have given way to corrupt practices, and only recently more than a score of them were concerned in a scandal, the revelation of which in the courts of law proved that they had sold their votes in order to promote legislation in the interests of a business concern. The succeeding Ministry, that formed by Count Katsura, was not only non-party in character, but was also largely under the domination of the military faction in the land. The Premier himself was a protégé of Yamagata, the famous Field-Marshal, who had always opposed Itō's policy on the ground, singularly enough, that it had leanings towards what he looked upon as advanced Liberalism. In order to gain power and prestige, Itō no doubt coquetted with party politics; but anyone who was intimately acquainted with him could not

conscientiously say that his object was otherwise than to make use of them in the best interests of State, and as a concession to the tendency of the times, which, as education spread and knowledge was diffused, clearly pointed to a growing demand on the part of the people for a more tangible share in the government of the country. He has left on record an expression of opinion that it is the duty of political parties to aim at cohesion, that friction in their ranks would upset the social fabric, and that above all national interests must always be placed before the transient interests of a political faction. During his leadership of the *Seiyukai*, Itō ruled its members with a firmness that was the outcome of an almost autocratic conviction. In other words, the party was formed with practically no other definite policy than that of following him wherever he might lead. That it has become a political organization of some power in the land is alone due to a natural trend of events over which Itō, who resigned the leadership in 1903, could exercise no real control. Marquis Saionji, who, after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, followed Count Katsura in the Premiership, was a firm friend of Itō, and had been his colleague in several Ministries. He succeeded the great statesman in the leadership of the *Seiyukai*, but although depending for support in the Diet largely upon the allegiance of that party, he included only two of its more prominent members in the Cabinet, and filled the remaining portfolios with statesmen who met with the approval of his predecessors in office, or who were virtually the nominees of one or other of the Elder Statesmen. When Count Katsura, the present Premier, again succeeded to power, he nominated to office only one representative of a political party, and filled the remaining offices with statesmen who held Conservative views on the question of party government. There is, therefore, still to be found in the situation as it exists to-day ample justification for the statesmanlike foresight displayed by Itō in framing a Constitution that gave to the people a National Assembly

with power to debate upon, but not to determine, laws, and which rendered Ministers of State responsible to the Throne and not to Parliament. Before leaving the subject of Itō's part in the establishment of representative government, some reference to his views on the subject of a second chamber may not be inopportune. He held that if all the political forces were united in a single House, and were left to the influence of excited passions without any restraint or equalizing power over them, that House, in the intemperance of biassed excitement, might overstep the bounds of propriety and bring about a despotism which might in time lead to anarchy. Furthermore, he believed that the object in having a House of Peers was not merely the admittance of the higher class to some share in the deliberations upon legislative matters, but was also representation of the brains, experience, and perseverance of the people, by the assembling together of men who had rendered signal service to the State, men of erudition, and men of great wealth. He regarded the agitation conducted in certain quarters in England against the House of Lords as being of possible value as a stricture upon the temporary evils of the moment, but as having no weight in the consideration of the permanent policy of the country.

In the domain of foreign politics Itō was no less conspicuous than in the sphere of domestic reform. He negotiated the Tientsin Agreement with China in regard to Korea. War with China broke out during the period of his second Ministry, and it was he who conducted the peace negotiations with Li-hung Chang amid the picturesque surroundings of a tea-house at Shimonoseki. When the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded he was in St. Petersburg, engaged in important *pourparlers* with the Russian Government. The real object of his mission on this occasion will doubtless ever remain a secret in official circles. Itō himself declared to intimate friends that it was his earnest wish to bring about a close understanding between Russia and Japan—an understanding, moreover,

that would partake of the nature of an alliance. He was represented to have affected surprise when he learnt that an agreement with Great Britain had been arrived at by the Ministry in Tōkyō. On the one hand it was alleged that his presence in St. Petersburg at the same time as negotiations were in progress with Downing Street was nothing more or less than a diplomatic ruse to compel an early decision from the British Government. Nevertheless, it is not altogether inconceivable—and there is not wanting evidence to bear out this view—that Itō foresaw that Japan had much to gain were she able to establish harmonious relations with Russia. At this period, it must not be forgotten, the influence of Yamagata, who had always been his great rival, and whose policy of militant progression was opposed to his idea of expansion on lines which did not exhaust the resources of diplomacy, was in the ascendancy. While Itō was an admirer of British institutions and of British methods, it is quite possible that he did not fail to realize that this country had much to gain by the defeat of Russia, both in regard to the safety of her Indian Frontier and to her interests in the region of the Far East. Might it not also have been conceivable that in his own mind he believed that had a satisfactory working arrangement with Russia been concluded, the continental expansion of Japan would, on the recognition of the principle of mutual and clearly defined interests, have received a positive stimulus, whereas an alliance with Great Britain would involve a long and expensive war with Russia, the end of which must inevitably mean a reaffirmation of strict and perhaps irksome adherence to the policy of the Open Door? Whatever view may be taken of Itō's mission, there is little doubt that his own intentions were to establish relations of an extremely cordial nature with Russia. During the campaign with Russia he gave his loyal support to the Government, and his wise counsel was frequently sought by the Throne. He declined to act as one of the Peace Plenipotentiaries at Portsmouth on the ground of advancing

years. In the deliberations which were frequently held in the presence of the Emperor during the progress of negotiations he was a stern advocate of peace. When the people of the capital rose in riot on hearing the terms of the Treaty, he alone of all the statesmen was able to proceed to the Palace without escort. When he met his death by the hand of an assassin at Harbin, he was, in spite of official denials to the contrary, engaged for the second time on a mission having for its object the settlement of outstanding questions with Russia. For more than two years the Government of the United States has been dissatisfied with conditions as they exist both in regard to the northern and the southern territories of Manchuria. Itō wished to bring into harmony the policies of Russia and Japan in these regions; and in more than one well-informed quarter the opinion prevailed that, had he achieved his object, the acquiescence of the Powers could not possibly have been withheld. He could not have viewed with other than alarm the sinister renewal of Russian activity in the Far East: the beginning in earnest of the construction of the great railway along the banks of the Amur; the conversion of Vladivostock into a fortress of first magnitude; and the decision to fortify several other important strategical places in the region of Eastern Siberia. He realized that his own country needed a long period of peace in which to recuperate after her tremendous exertions in the time of war, and it was his ambition before retiring from active work to solve as far as possible the new and grave problems that have arisen in the Far East. That his untimely death was a serious loss to the cause of peace no one who was honoured with his friendship could deny. He had always acted as a check upon the aspirations of the military faction in the land, and it was due largely to his influence that an elaborate programme of armament expansion was extended over a further period of years than was originally intended. When the immigration dispute arose with America, and wild talk was

indulged in on both sides of the Pacific, Itō gave expression to the simple opinion that war with the country which had first awakened Japan from the sleep of ages was unthinkable. He urged that it was the duty of statesmen in office to discourage emigration to the United States and Canada, and to direct the overflow of population towards Korea and Manchuria, where Japanese arms had won predominance. His work in Korea was both warmly praised and keenly criticized by foreign observers. On the one hand it was said that his policy resembled that of Lord Cromer in Egypt, and was equally as successful, while, on the other hand, it was contended that his régime inaugurated a period of tyranny over a helpless and a hapless people. There is no doubt that his rule was that of the iron hand, and he gave license to the military authorities to suppress national ebullition, which he regarded as sedition, with the relentless severity of the sword. At the same time he was hampered in his administration by the fact that Japan had not at her command a sufficiently large staff of trained and experienced officials to enable her to undertake thoroughly the work of reform in Korea. Moreover, as soon as the Protectorate was established, thousands of Japanese, the majority belonging to the lower classes, overran the Peninsular Kingdom. The sole object of these adventurous emigrants was to escape poverty in their home land and to exploit the Koreans for their own selfish ends. Consequently the work of reform was hindered at every turn, and the good faith of Japan suffered by the individual actions of large numbers of her people who had hastily made their way into the country before there was time to inaugurate a satisfactory system for the preservation of law and order. In view of these circumstances, while it can be said that Itō aimed at a policy similar to that pursued by British administration in Egypt, it must be concluded that he was defeated in his purpose by the overbearing behaviour of hordes of Japanese settlers, who looked upon the Koreans as a subject people. That he himself realized the difficulties which beset his path was

clear from his own utterances. "The population of our own country," he said on one occasion, "shows a very rapid rate of increase, and it is natural that its increment should overflow into Korea. Above all, when the various enterprises in that kingdom reach a stage of development, it is quite evident that we shall witness a very great addition to the number of our people going there, as compared with to-day. But there has been much to censure in the conduct of our nationals hitherto in Korea. The greatest indignities have been put upon the Koreans, and they have been obliged to suffer them with tears in their eyes. It is true that persons guilty of such conduct constitute only a small part of the Japanese residing in Korea; but now that this Empire has taken upon itself the protectorate of Korea this improper behaviour calls for the utmost correction, especially inasmuch as, since the beginning of the *Meiji* era, many difficulties have been eliminated from the relations of the two countries, and two great wars have taken place, the practical results of which are now for the first time displaying themselves. Yet because the conduct of our nationals towards the Koreans is not what it ought to be, they (the Koreans) pose abroad as sufferers, and entertain the keenest dislike for us at home, with the very regrettable result that much injury is done to the relations of the two countries. I am persuaded that when our nationals go to Korea hereafter in increasing number earnest steps must be taken to check this impropriety. It is needless to say that such of my nationals as are engaged in legitimate enterprises in Korea will be protected, but I propose to take ample measures for dealing with all *mauvais sujets*."

When, at the special command of his Sovereign, Itō went to Korea in the capacity of Resident-General, he found a state of national disorder such as would have dismayed any but the most indomitable of men. Soothsayers and wizards besieged the palace by day and night, and the Emperor, bankrupt in financial resources, had added to his

embarrassment by concluding a number of agreements for loans with usurers of the worst type. His abdication, which doubtless was inspired by Itō, paved the way for serious reform. Only a few months before his death the Prince sent the writer an outline of the work that had been accomplished under his régime. From this statement it was clear that he had cleansed every department of State of the evils of corruption and maladministration, and that he had laid the foundations upon which his successors, if they are wise in their statesmanship, will be able to erect the structure of national solidarity. During the period of his office as Resident-General, Itō was frequently consulted by the Ministry in Tōkyō in regard both to domestic and foreign politics, and he also made several visits to Japan in order to tender his advice to the Throne. As an instance of the critical attention he paid to the minutest matter affecting what he regarded as the interests of his country, I may perhaps be pardoned the mention of a personal reminiscence. While resident in Tōkyō as the special correspondent of a London journal, after the war with Russia, I experienced no little difficulty in dealing with the authorities. In some way or other Prince Itō heard of this circumstance, and immediately, through the medium of a personal friend of his, despatched to me a message expressing his regret that any but the most cordial relations should exist between the Foreign Office and the representative of an organ of public opinion in England, and at the same time offering to place at my disposal special facilities provided by himself for the efficient discharge of my duties. Needless to say, this offer was gratefully accepted, and, whenever possible, the distinguished statesman made it his own personal care to see that I was kept well informed in regard to the situation in the Far East. In private life Itō showed a simplicity of character that endeared him to his countrymen. He detested pomp or display in any form whatever, and deplored the tendency of the younger generation to ape

foreign ways merely for appearance's sake. When at home at his seaside villa he took a delight in entertaining his near friends, many of these being men of humble circumstances, in homely Japanese fashion. Save the rewards he received from the Throne and the State he had no worldly possessions, and he refused a salary higher than £600 per annum for his services as Resident-General in Korea. His untiring activity remained with him in old age, and at the most four or five hours' sleep sufficed him for a night's rest. His death came when he was approaching the completion of his life's work. In the few years that were to mark the closing of his brilliant career he had not been slow to realize that a change, almost a second transition, was coming over Japan. He felt that, as time went on, increasing difficulty would be experienced in retaining all that was best in Oriental civilization, while assimilating only that which was beneficial from the civilization of the West. On one occasion he frankly expressed the opinion that Japan had fought her best fight against Russia, and that, owing to the growing tendency among the masses towards luxurious indulgence, she might not, in the event of another war, possess those Spartan qualities which had led her to victory in the past. In later years feeling has gained ground in the country that the Elder Statesmen, of whom Itō was, to all intents and purposes, the leader, were a brake upon the wheel of progress; and in the struggle for material prosperity there have not been wanting signs that their calm wisdom has been misinterpreted as an austere conservatism altogether out of tune with the times. Itō has passed from the scene before the changes which these signs portend have taken shape, and no greater monument to his memory were needed than that of Modern Japan, strong and virile as she stands to-day.

TRANSMIGRATION AMONG THE SOUTHERN NIGERIAN TRIBES.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

THE belief in Transmigration is one of the oldest religious dogmas in existence. It was not so much a Priestly invention as an outcome of moral necessity, an engine of human government—possibly the earliest ever known—when Social units began to swell into Communities and Communities into tribes. An offshoot of the main Ancestral cult, it must at one time have been common to all primitive races. In ancient Egypt, for instance, it was a predominant feature. True, there are but the slightest allusions to it in the *Sruti*, the *Chhandas*, or *Sanhitá*—*i.e.*, the more ancient portion of the *Veda*—nothing, in fact, that would of itself even suggest the doctrine. These allusions, in fact, only begin to amplify and grow clearer in the later sections of the *Veda*, the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* particularly. Even in them the doctrine is not presented with any special clarity or emphasis. In any case the want in the *Sruti* is supplied by the *Smriti*. *Manu's Dharma-Sāstra* and the six systems of philosophy are simply saturated with it. It is significant, however, that no attempt whatever is made to prove the belief. But this is assumed, quite as a matter of course, as the basis of the arguments, exhortations, and statements which are made therein. And this in itself, although only negative and indirect evidence, is evidence that justifies the inference of pre-existence.

Even at this present moment Transmigration is not restricted, as is generally supposed, to the Hindus and Druses of Lebanon, but obtains, *e.g.*, all over Africa among the Negroid and Bantu races, although it is not known by any of the tribes under any such analogous name, and no specific appellation has been given to it. Indeed, it was only after a very careful and patient investigation (extending over ten years) among the various tribes of Southern

Nigeria that it manifested itself to me through certain beliefs and dogmas that I found there. These, briefly, are a belief in the retranslation of the Spirit into Soul, and its return from Spirit Land—*i.e.*, the spiritual sphere—into Human, Animal, Vegetable bodies and Natural objects. Here, then, in a nutshell we have the identical principles contained in and expressed by either of the words Metempsychosis or Transmigration. Putting to one side all outside knowledge of the cult—as it exists, for instance, among the Hindus—as practised by the natives of Southern Nigeria it is, so to speak, a mixture of Totemism and Transmigration. In other words, it is a compound of two seemingly different cults, that are in reality merely links of the one main Ancestral creed.

Shorn of all theological and metaphysical subtleties, Transmigration is simply a belief in the continuity and re-birth of the soul into other bodies; while so-called Totemism is but the selection by a Community, Clan, or Household of an emblem, living or otherwise, to represent the Ancestral soul: in three words “specific ancestral emblemism,” or in one, Emblemism. From this it becomes quite evident that Transmigration, or “Spiritual Embodiment,” as it in reality is, was primarily, and essentially, an outcome of: (1) A belief in Spiritualism—*i.e.*, in the existence of a vital principle, that differentiated as “Soul,” or “Spirit,” according to its position; (2) the necessity arising from, or evolving out of this belief, of making suitable provision for the departed Souls of the Family, who as spirits in Spirit Land, were partly from necessity, and partly from choice, compelled to return to this Earthly existence, in various forms.

Recognizing this necessity, it is further evident that the provision which was so made was one purely of association, commencing with the Personal, and culminating with the Impersonal—a reason that at once explains the selection of the various bodies, Human, Animal, Vegetable, and Material.

The return of the Spirits into these different bodies as Souls, was, and is still, regulated by the wish and in accordance with the individuality of the Ego, prior, and possibly even subsequent, to decease or departure; and this also depended absolutely on his character and temperament. It is equally certain that, in the minds of these naturally subservient and enslaved people, this option was immediately and entirely under the control of the Household Deities, and through them of the Supreme Divinity. It is further quite evident that the individual, and the Household to which he belonged, were undoubtedly guided by certain leading considerations, or controlling moral factors, the principal of which were: 1. As to the greater, or more pressing need of spiritual or human control. 2. The desire on the part of the individual Spirit for a restless or a restful life. 3. The position occupied in a Household by the Ego. 4. The necessity of reincarnation as the sole means of preserving and maintaining intact the Human existence of a Household, since they recognized that the latter, intellectually, and spiritually, depended for its vitality on the former. That the natural desire for adoration, acting in conjunction with the more fundamental instincts, did in a great measure, if not entirely, influence Natural Man, is quite possible, and more than possible when considered along with the fact, that his conception of God the Creator was purely Anthropomorphic. For besides being Natural, the idea was a practical illustration of the duality of certain Human emotions—that one more particularly, which is common to every individual—even to those most highly civilized—namely, the desire to adore and to be adored!

But while it is to some extent easy enough to follow the reincarnation into Human bodies, the idea to the European mind of this interchange of the soul to Animal bodies is much more difficult of comprehension. Apart from the moral and religious grounds of punishment and symbolism, there are however other principles which must be taken into consideration before any definite opinion can be arrived at.

Brutally literal and cruel, creature of impulse, and of opposing or balancing elements, as was Natural Man, he was all the same emotional, and affectionate—in a sense, that although animalistic, aspired to something higher and more Human. Hence his anxiety to make provision for the Souls of the departed, and hence it was that the wish became father to the thought. But anxious too as he no doubt was—on grounds of fear, as well of affection—to make suitable provision, in order to induce the Manes to return, and so as to have them within the limits—*i.e.* the protection of the Household, the proportion of those he recognized, as having returned into the bosom of the Family, was by no means so great as those whom he knew to have departed. So that while able to account for a certain proportion of these, through death by violence, and consequent disembodiment—or as it appeared to him—possible extinction, he was sometimes at a loss to account for them all. For some had given no hint, and had left no clue, to their whereabouts—in other words, had expressed no wish prior to dissolution, or had perhaps been too young to do so.

Yet although it may not seem so to us, as products of a process that has altogether progressed beyond the comprehension of the absolutely Natural, this was not a purely personal, but entirely a Family, matter, and one of great moment to Natural Man. In the first place, because he was fearful on account of himself, and Family, to provide a suitable embodiment, and resting place, in order to prevent the translation of familiar and friendly spirits into aggressive and diabolical Demons; and in the second place, because he was desirous of doing, as he would be done by: in other words he followed, and set the good example of his Fathers, to his Son and Successor!

Nor must the agency of the Dream be overlooked, because recurring as it so frequently did (and does), in minds whose thoughts were one continuity of concentration on the subject that was uppermost; it was an exceed-

ingly potential factor, that helped them out of many a difficulty, and which unravelled many a mystic knot. All the more so in fact, because, in the popular estimation, the Dream was interpreted as an actual interview, therefore an exchange of ideas, and communications, between two Souls.

It is evident, therefore, that in the entire absence of expressed wishes, and personal desires, the principles which most of all assisted Natural Man in making a suitable selection of embodiments for the Spirits of those who had been placed in so unfortunate a predicament, were the very powerful factors of Association, and Precedent.

In those early days, Natural Man, even after he had arrived at the stage of agriculture, was essentially a Hunter, and a Fisherman, so that the selection of a suitable Emblem was not in any sense difficult, resting, as it did, on a choice of those animals which were most in evidence. While in those cases, in which the latter were not so plentiful, or in which game, and fish, were absent, as the departed Souls had not been either Hunters, or Fishermen, the inference is, that Vegetal bodies, or Material objects, were necessarily chosen. The idea, of course, in no sense whatever interferes with the statement already made, that these self-same embodiments of Animals, and objects, were also self-selected and constituted, there and then, as Ancestral Emblems; but it is advanced as further evidence, in explanation of the countless symbols that are in existence.

But in making these selections, the underlying motives, which all along have actuated Natural Man, must not be lost sight of—namely, that of propitiating two elements: first the Animal Spirit, all Evil, and inimical; and, secondly, the Human, who, if not entirely Evil, or destructive, was at least capable of it, if provoked thereto. Thus, there most undoubtedly was a double motive, in selecting an Animal, or Reptile, of a ferocious, or poisonous, type, as a Family, or Ancestral, Emblem; in other words, of bottling up the Human Soul inside the body of an Animal. For

in this way, by adoring and satisfying the Ancestral Spirit, which he did through the symbol, the worshipper provided for himself a means of propitiating, and keeping on good terms with, both the possessor and the possessed.

But while this was the way in which the cult was made to appear to the people in general, there was another, and an inner side, to it, which had consciously evolved itself out of the subtler brains of the Patriarchal Leaders, and Priests. For while the primary conception was merely one of provision, on the part of the Human Household, for the souls of the departed, the latter idea, arising as it did out of an essential necessity, utilized, and developed, the original, by means of certain moral issues, which met the requirements, that, at the time, Society stood most in need of. So that, as in the case of the Spirit conception, it was unmistakably, and decidedly, an advance in the social progress of the Humanity of the period.

According to the opinion of these Delta natives, it is evident, that while spirit, and matter, are two separate, and divisible, elements, they are at the same time essential to each other. So that Embodiment is considered to be the normal, and Disembodiment the abnormal, condition of the Spirit. Therefore it is but natural to conclude that, in the latter phase, the disembodied Spirit can neither participate in the lineal rights, nor receive the reward that would have been his due, under normal conditions. So, too, in the eyes of their Ancestral Leaders, the significance of the differentiations between the Spirit element of the three great Divisions could not possibly be exaggerated. For it was on this article of their faith, and on the moral system of retributive Justice, that this doctrine of Material Embodiment, as symbolical of Ancestral spirits, was based, and constructed. This being the case, it is quite evident that the doctrine in question was a natural evolution, pure, and simple, out of the main Ancestral trunk. For in those primitive days, when the cult—i.e., the adoration of the Spirit Fathers—had been accepted, the condition of Natural

Society was extremely rude and lawless. Might was Right, and Right was Might, even amongst those tribes who had most advanced in the social and progressive scale. For no other alternative had suggested itself. Of Nature, as the people were, it was from her, the great Mother of them all, that this violent principle—still flourishing even amid the highest civilization, but, of course, in more subdued and refined forms—was first acquired. Primarily, therefore, an essential and inevitable principle, as Society advanced into a state of Citizenship, or mutual co-operation Societies, in order to support the authority of the Fathers in the Flesh, it became more and more, and, finally, absolutely essential, to lean on the Spirit Fathers. This was done by utilizing the then existing religious formula, which provided material embodiment for departed souls, so as to establish a permanent and enduring Judicial system—a system that, although innately spiritual, was outwardly moral and symbolical.

Thus it was, that this system of Metempsychosis, or disposal, of Human Spirits on dissolution, grew out of phantasmal necessities and requirements—which to Natural Man, however, were real and actual—and that a relegation of certain spirits was made, as a moral check, or counter-balance—*i e.*, as a Punitive measure—to the Animal, or inimical element—a creation, which to these Natural people represented a world of antipathies, and a state of perpetual warfare.

But as in this view of the matter, their own Human world was very naturally involved, a return to the Human embodiment—implying as it did contact with the Animal, regarded, as this was, with evident disfavour, by that section of Society to whom life had been one continuous battle, one long struggle for existence—also became a form of retribution, which was only secondary to the Animal. Finally, the selection of inanimate objects, as more conducive to rest, and freedom, from worldly disturbance, was least of all a punishment; on the contrary, a gracious con-

cession, or recognition, on the part of the Ancestral Deities.

What the European must recognize is this, that although through the Burial Sacrament the now released Soul is received into Spirit Land, it is not necessarily allowed to remain there as a permanence. In other words, there are certain Ancestral obligations which must be fulfilled, and these naturally enough, and as a matter of course, all appertain to the Human branch of the Family. So it is, that while those who are lowest in the scale—*i.e.*, who are least deserving of consideration—have taken up their residence in Animal bodies, others are either permitted, or obliged to return, to the Human embodiment, and the most deserving of all, go back to the objects which are considered most restful—a rest which they have earned, by virtue of a greater and more consistent Ancestral piety.

For deification, or a permanent residence in Spirit Land is a reward that only few attain to ; while disembodiment, as we know, is but the inevitable result of former actions, which put the Ego altogether outside the Ancestral limitations.

This, in a nutshell, is the idea of Transmigration, as it existed in the natural minds of the Ancestors of these Delta natives, but with this difference : that what to us appears as a mere idea, was to them a solid and recognized system of supreme Patriarchal jurisdiction, which not only reduced the chaos and lawlessness of life into a state of regular discipline, by means of a judicious, and, as it were, optional gradation, of retribution, but which established the Spiritual authority on a firm and lasting basis. Indeed, from the native standpoint, this continuous shifting of Souls is but the actual mechanism, or operation, of the ever autocratic Ancestral Tribunal. It is evident, then, that while in the main morality, or social exigencies, was the motive principle, Fear, again, was undoubtedly the inspiring instinct. Fear of consequences, which accepted the Ancestral dictum as unavoidable—a reduction of the whole

matter to the three pre-eminent factors, of Association, Precedent, and the Inevitable! It is impossible, however, to close this article without calling the reader's attention to the delicate, yet extreme, subtlety of these prehistoric Leaders, who were able to transform necessity, and punishment, into a purely personal matter of option. For this personal option, in selecting, or pre-determining, the embodiment of individual Souls, not only answered the purpose infinitely better—exactly suited as it was to the temperament of an impulsive and headstrong people—but rendered any subsequent misfortune, or alteration, due to former acts of omission, or commission, as all the harder, and more culpable.

THE AVESTA IS VEDA : * A PLEA FOR JOINT STUDIES.

BY PROFESSOR MILLS.

As is known, the Avesta is almost an integral part of the Veda, being its Iranian half, or, more strictly, being one of its books—far closer to it than Veda is to its own Indian epic. For that very reason, perhaps, some Vedists may not like it. They have less misgiving with regard to other kindred studies—for instance, the Pali. The late very distinguished Professor Pischel, of Berlin, worked largely upon that kindred language, the oldest daughter of the Sanskrit; but in Avesta we have not kinship, rather almost identity. With the exception of a few names—such as “Mazda” in “Abura Mazda”—all, or nearly all, the gods, sub-gods, and godlets are both Vedic and Avestic. Border religious animosity has, or had, indeed, turned some of these original common gods of Avesta and Veda into demons, chiefly upon the side of the Avesta (notably, and unfortunately, the very endeared name of “devá” shared this fate with several of the others); and this inversion is, and was, a thing without parallel in religious history, being also as colossal as it was singular—at least so, when the vast territories and populations involved within its influence are held in view. This is not the place to make use of foreign words, but even the Ameshaspends (the Amshaspands of literature) are all of them abstract Vedic concepts as well as Avestic, being expressions of the noblest characteristics of deity, though in Avesta they are singled out, grouped, and focussed in a manner truly astonishing to

* This article is the expansion of some remarks made by me, as the principal guest, at the New Year's banquet of the Parsis, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on March 21 (their New Year's Day), 1909.

the student of religious philosophical history. They were then first rhetorically, and after that dogmatically, personified, and in this form they were made more widely known than even many of the chief gods of Veda; while the Avesta language in general is, as said, almost Vedic after a few dialectical peculiarities have been co-ordinated—far nearer Vedic than English is to Scotch. To clinch such a statement I cannot do better than cite some remarks made by the very distinguished Professor Oldenberg, of Kiel, joint translator with Max Müller of the Vedic Hymns in the “Sacred Books of the East.” He says in his “Vedic Religion,” page 27: “The language of the older Vedic hymns approaches that of many parts of the Avesta nearer than it does that of the *Mahābhārata* . . . ; the difference in the course of sounds is not greater than that between the more separated dialects of Greece, or than that between the Old High German and the Old Low German. . . . The Vedic diction,” he continues, “has an important series of characteristic expressions which are common to it with the Avesta, but not common to it with the later Indian.”

“The near relation of the metrical forms in Veda and Avesta, and especially that of the poetical character in each, comes also into consideration. When one has remarked that entire Avesta strophes, simply upon the basis of a comparative sound-system, can be translated into Vedic, this opinion would often not only result in correct Vedic words and sentences, but in verses and strophes out of which the soul of Vedic poetry seems to speak.”

I quote the passage not only on account of its acknowledged importance, but also as being somewhat induced to do so by my own personal sensibility; for these allusions refer to my translation of a Zarathusktrian hymn into Sanskrit in Roth’s “Festgruss,” which he quotes; also with respectful allusion to another Avesta-Sanskritist, and which, indeed, seems to have occasioned his remarks. Avesta is,

in fact, the outcome—with a striking purification, and focusing of ideas—of the same identical lore as that from which our present surviving Indian Veda arose. Fancy such a thing as a pietistic reform of a rich polytheistic, poetic mass like the Veda! It reminds us of Luther's reform rather than of the reform of Judaism through Christianity, and it may have had as wide an effect. We have to pause a little before we take in what our statement here fully means. If there ever was a curiosity in literature, here is one, which is also sublime, if anything of the kind can be so described, while its practical importance must have once been immense.

—[Some people, indeed, inquire “why we trouble at all about any ancient religions, Oriental or other.” I rather think that the Bible is both “ancient and Oriental,” and upon it depends, and has depended, more money than would settle a nation's debt. Every parson is perforce an Orientalist, and, as such, necessarily an antiquarian.]—To resume.

No critic can fail to acknowledge that the Gāthic Avesta contains an expression and application of interior religion upon more than a modern basis of purity and truth, there being no false miracles in it, nor false doctrines: it is, in a word, the simplest and grandest of creeds, fit for a universal acceptance among theists, the political and, so to say, ecclesiastical, interest, which also inspired it, by no means paralyzing its animus.

The eminent Professor Roth—first Vedist of Germany—delighted in it, lecturing upon it alternately. Time alone—he had nine lectures per week—prevented him from more extensive publication upon it; and it was he who anticipated Oldenberg in the above-cited statements, for he not only traced analogies, but read Avesta almost as pure Sanskrit, which may have been going too far, so he said, for, though the words of Avesta and Veda are, for the most part, practically the same, there is often the like difference in the point of the verbal meanings as there is so notoriously between the points in Vedic and the later Sanskrit—two

forms of language, not approximately, but presumably, actually, the same.

I remember Aufrecht's once remarking that "The vocabularies of the Vedic and the later Sanskrit were *entirely different*"—going again, perhaps, rather too far upon that side of it (he was Sanskrit Professor in Bonn, and editor of the Rig Veda); and, accordingly, Gāthic Avesta is often taught by our distinguished German and American Sanskritists side by side with Veda—this apart from the well-known American and German Avesta specialists.

"Oh, I have read the Gāthas of Zoroaster"—so one of the distinguished Americans used to say—"but——," but what? The crux of the matter has been the Pahlavi commentaries, which used indeed to "excruciate" their exponents, but which are now, perhaps, too rapidly recovering their ancient authority—I sincerely hope *not* to its full extent. Certainly, in one light of it, it has been a fortunate circumstance for me personally, as for others, that I was forced at once, in my earlier career, to adopt the "combined" method, if I might so term it—producing all the commentaries in texts and translations side by side with the original Avesta, the latter likewise in verbatim and in free metrical, with lexicon—this, a chief part of it, some thirty-two years ago.

Now the way is clear, for eminent Americans would not follow the German and French example, so giving to the world brilliant, if half-prepared, suggestions. The Pahlavi of the Yasna has now been almost completely edited by me in Z.D.M.G., in the Gāthas, with my present Yasna I., and translated in J.R.Ā.S., J.A.O.S., etc., as in the Gāthas; and my most embittered competitor—if I possess such an opponent—profoundly rejoices in these productions, which have cost me so many years of patience.

I will close by going beyond what I have said above—viz., by asserting that "No Vedic philology is complete without its wonderful twin sister, while a history of Vedic would be little short of an imposture with no allusion to it."

Why not, then, study it—Avesta—universally, and as under obligation, with Veda ?

The following is a restricted list of joint authorship upon the subjects, showing the practical identity of the two, the Avesta and the Veda :

The gifted Eugene Burnouf of Paris was a distinguished professor of Sanskrit, but he is, and was, best known by his pioneer work upon Avesta ; the eminent Westergaard of Copenhagen was formerly Professor of Oriental Languages, including Sanskrit (see his works), but chiefly known through his edition of the Avesta ; Spiegel of Erlangen was a professor of Sanskrit, but he brought over the entire subject of Avesta from France, with very great and indispensable contributions to it ; Justi of Marburg was a professor of Sanskrit, but most known through his Avesta Dictionary, of which Roth could write : "*Justi's Musterhaft eingerichtetes zweckmässiges Handbuch*"; Darmesteter was a Sanskritist, though, like myself, he did not announce the subject, because there was already a Sanskrit professor in his University ; Oppert was an Avestic scholar, though he could not announce Avesta, for Darmesteter was in Paris ; Oldenberg reads Avesta (see above) ; while all (?) the now living Avesta writers are also professors and teachers of Sanskrit, or, if not this, then advanced specialists upon it. A critical knowledge of Avesta is almost indispensable to a high expert estimate in Vedic, and ignorance of this obvious fact seems inexcusable.

PS.—I forgot to mention the ardent Haug, who was a "stirring mind," also a Sanskrit professor in Munich.

THE HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHICAL PROOFS OF THE HIUNG-NU-HUN IDENTITY.

BY KÁLMÁN NÉMÄTI,

Librarian of the Budapest Post-office Library.

1. *The Heirdom of the Hiung-nu Name.*

FOR twenty-seven centuries in the state history of China a warlike and mounted people played a very important part; these nomads the Chinese historians originally called Hiün-yü, later Hien-yün, and finally Hiung-nu. All three synonymous folk-names have one common sound, Hun; to wit, (1) the root of Hiün-yü is Hiün, with the ancient sound Hun and Kun; (2) from Hien-yün, perhaps after leaving out the usual hyphen Hi(-)ün; (3) Hiung-nu is a form of the Hunu folk-name, which was retained in the contemporary sacred books of the Avesta as an old Persian word.

2. *The Descent of the Hiung-nu.*

The narrative of the Hiung-nu has been preserved in the histories of the Chinese dynasties—namely, in the contemporary Shī-ki and Han-shu. According to these the Hiung-nu, as leaders of the Mongolian, Turkish, and Hunnic peoples, took their origin from the Dynasty of Hia, which was founded by the Emperor Great Yü, the son of the Minister *Kun*, in the year 2205 B.C. In China ceremonial sacrifices have been offered to the father Kun, as well as to the Emperor Great Yü, lasting for very many centuries. The seventeenth ruler of the Hia dynasty, Kieh, was banished in 1766 B.C., because of his tyranny; after his death his son Shün-weï migrated, together with 500 members of the family of Hia, to the northern border district of China. These rulers (and *par excellence* Chinese family),

which after over 2,000 years again occupied the throne under the name of Hia, were the forefathers of the Hiung-nu.

3. *The Chinese Great Wall.*

China under the second dynasty In, and under the third Chou, was split up into small feudal states, till finally, after many wars, seven Chinese kingdoms arose—namely, Tsh'ü, Chao, Wei, Han, Yen, Ts'i, and Ts'in. The northern of these kingdoms, Yen, Chao, and Ts'in, were neighbours of the Hiung-nu. It then happened that the combined people of the first six kingdoms used the leadership of the Hiung-nu, attacked the most powerful Ts'in dynasty—namely, for the first time in the year 321 B.C., and then in the year 318—but the allies were entirely conquered. The Emperor Shī Hoang-ti of the Ts'in dynasty had put an end to the feudal system in the years 259-210 B.C., and in 213 B.C. ordered all the Chinese literature which reminded him of it to be burnt: he captured all the Ordos Desert in the Hoang-ho River district from the Hiung-nu *shan-yü* Teu-man, and commenced, for the security of his country, the building of a great wall in the land of Shen-si, which he made to connect with the great walls that had been built earlier towards the east by the Chao, and towards the west by the Yen kingdoms. In this way originated the most wonderful structure on earth, starting from the Gulf of Pe-tshi-li, over mountains and valleys, and extending more than 3,000 kilometres in length, to Su-chou in Kân-su, where the Hungarian Indologist, Dr. Aurel Stein, during his archaeological researches, continued from A.D. 1906-1908, discovered the ruins of the wall as well as the ruins of the watch-towers of Hiung-nu times, commencing from the city of Su-chou, through the city of Ân-si, in the direction of the Su-lei-ho River towards the Lob-noor Sea.

The Chinese Great Wall—called in Chinese Ch'ang ch'êng; Mongolian, Tsagan Kerem, *i.e.*, White Wall—is for the most part a block building, on the average about 7 metres high and 4 metres thick, secured at distances of

from 2 to 5 kilometres by watch-towers, with living-rooms for the guards. But towards the north from Peking, on the mountain-ridge of Nân-K'ou, the wall is constructed of quarried stones, and is nearly 10 metres in height. This gigantic structure, which was counted among the wonders of the world, broke the power and influence of the Hiung-nu in the history of China; not all at once, however, but only gradually, after three centuries.

4. *The Heirdom of the Hiung-nu History.*

Teu-man, the Hiung-nu *shan-yü*, whose name is first mentioned after that of Shün-wei, was driven from the throne and murdered by his reckless son Mao-tun in the year 209 B.C. After that he conquered twenty-six tribes, and made them his subjects, so that under him the Hiung-nu kingdom extended from the Sea of Japan to the River Volga; then he regained from the Chinese, by means of his strong army of 300,000 men, all the northern territory inside the Great Wall, including Chih-li, Shân-si, and Shen-si, which the Tsin Emperor had seized from his father. Finally, he removed his residence from the In-shân mountains in the country of Shân-si to the present town Ta-t'ung-fu, called at that time Yün-chong. About the 30th *shan-yü* after Mao-tun in direct line was Yü-sü-Kien, at this time the bravest of the Hiung-nu: he left the neighbourhood of China for ever, in A.D. 90. For, being pressed by the Chinese General Töu-hien, they migrated towards the north-west, in the neighbourhood of the Sogdians. These northern Hiung-nu, who had settled here later, conquered the Alans (called prior to our era Yen-ts'ai = Massagetae), killed their King, and captured their country, whereby, under the name of Huns, they were the cause of the folk migration which has recently been proven by the German sinologist, Dr. Hirth, in numerous dissertations. The southern Hiung-nu, on the other hand, later acknowledged the supremacy of China after their last *shan-yü*, Hu-chu-tsüen, in the year A.D. 215, had abdicated

in favour of the Emperor, and his people were disseminated among the Chinese. After three generations, however, the Hiung-nu families again stood at the head of the northern Chinese Empire, and even assumed to themselves the Imperial title. In this way originated the two Chao kingdoms in A.D. 304-351: after that, Ho-lien Po-po founded a new Hia dynasty in A.D. 407-431, as stated on p. 2; finally, after the kingdom of Pei-leang had existed from A.D. 398-439, the Hiung-nu became totally scattered, and they also lost their name.

5. *The Hiung-nu Theories.*

Whether the historic heirdom of the Hiung-nu belongs to the people of the Huns, or the Turks, or the Mongolians? That is the object of the controversy of the different theories.

A French sinologist, *Joseph Deguignes*, founded with his standard work in the years 1756-1758 an epoch-making basis for the Hiung-nu-Hun theory—namely, by means of a comparative historic statement, that the Huns before they appeared in Europe played a historic part under the name of Hiung-nu to the north of the Chinese Great Wall. Since then 150 years have passed away, during which time the Hiung-nu-Hun theory has been attacked by the Turk and Mongol theories.

The Hiung-nu-Turk theory was systematically developed by *Julius Klaproth*, a German sinologist, and worthy rival of Deguignes. He tried to prove from a comparative linguistic basis that the Hiung-nu were not Huns, but Turks, because the Huns, according to his opinion, were a Finnic people; on the other hand, the Hiung-nu were certainly Turks. But Klaproth has made a chronological mistake, when he placed the history of the Tu-khiu, who doubtless represent in the Chinese historical books the Turks of the European historians, as identical with the history of the Hiung-nu, and identified them; because prior to the fifth century the Tu-khiu (Turk) folk-name, in fact, did

not exist at all. So far as the Turkish nationality of the Hiung-nu is concerned, Deguignes has affirmed that also. Besides this, Klaproth did not recognize in the Gothic tradition, around which the proof of the whole Hiung-nu-Hun identity turns, the double historic fact—namely, that not the maternal stock, but the paternal stock, of the Huns sprang originally and certainly from the neighbourhood of China.

The Russian Turkologist, *Dr. W. Radloff*, is the originator of the Hiung-nu-On-Uigur theory. But he has mixed up the Hun-ugurs of Hun times, mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers, with the fabulous Ten-Uigurs of the Perso-Turkish historians during the Mongolian period; he also does not seem to know the difference between the Ugurs on the River Volga and the Uigurs of Central Asia.

Thomas W. Kingsmill, an English sinologist in Shanghai, had, following in the footsteps of the theory of Klaproth and of the "History of the Mongols" by the English scholar Howorth, set up the Hiung-nu-Kara-Nirus theory; yet he cannot bring either positive philological nor historical proofs for his principal assertions.

Finally, the Russian scholars are conspicuous by their setting forth of the Hiung-nu-Mongol theory. *Yakint Bichurin*, a Russian sinologist of the first order, teaches that "Hunnu is the old national name of the Mongols. The Chinese used for the transcription of the word Hunnu two characters: (1) Hun = wicked; (2) Nu = slave. But the Mongolian word Hunnu is a proper name, and the Chinese characters have no meaning." Now, Yakint and Schmidt, by a comparison with the Mongolian word *Chino* = Wolf, had erroneously deduced that Hunnu was an antiquated Mongolian word; for they had no knowledge of the horse-riding Hunu people, whose Hun name with the *u* suffix is, according to the analogy of the old Persian folk-names *Hindu*, *Moghu*, *Dshadu*, and so on, known from the contemporary Avesta literature. Moreover, since then old Turkish inscribed monuments have

been discovered in Mongolia and deciphered, the fact remains indisputable that no Mongolian nationality ruled in Mongolia prior to the time of Dshingis Khan.

Those leaders of the sinologists who occupy themselves with history held as the most probable the Hiung-nu-Hun theory; thus the French investigators Ed. Chavannes and Couvreur; then the English scholar Ed. H. Parker; and finally the German, Dr. Fr. Hirth, the last-named of whom represents this teaching as a sure historic fact.

According to my own opinion, the proof of the Hiung-nu-Hun identity depends also upon the geographical question—whether the Huns in Hiung-nu times played a part on the Chinese Great Wall or not? In this matter the following positive proofs are at our disposal:

6. The Latin Map of St. Hieronymus.

The Latin map of the Church father St. Hieronymus is preserved in the British Museum in London. The same is pronounced to be authentic by the learned compiler of the *Mappae Mundi* on both internal and external grounds. Although this map was drawn up between the years A.D. 376-420, during the prime of the life of St. Hieronymus, and therefore after the Hun migration in Pannonia, the Huns are, nevertheless, not shown as being in Europe, but, as in ancient times, in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire, which is represented on our map* by “*Seres oppidum*” surrounded by walls. It is remarkable that on the map the Huniscite folk-name, which had been written in the first instance, has been erased, and then close to it “*Seres oppidum*” has been inscribed. This mistake, along with a number of others of a similar kind, may very well have been copied from the very first Latin map, which the Roman Emperor Augustus in 7 B.C. ordered to be drawn on the wall of the Polla Hall at Rome; but at the same time equally probably from the celebrated work, “*Orbis Pictus*,” of Agrippa, which was in general use. The specialists, Petersen and Müllenhoff, have

* Not reproduced here.—Ed.

demonstrated, namely, that the well-known geography of Orosius, which was translated into English by King Alfred a thousand years ago, must have been drawn up according to the map of Augustus; but as, finally, Orosius was a pupil of Hieronymus, in whose geography the compound folk-name, the characteristic Huni-Scythae, occurs—also in the neighbourhood of Ottorokorra—it follows that Orosius must have known of the map of St. Hieronymus; modified this, then, according to a copy of the map of Augustus; and finally revised it. The Latin writers therefore of the Hiung-un age had really heard of the Hun name and of the Chinese Great Wall, although they did not know their history.

7. *Strabo's "Greek Geography."*

The testimony of Strabo's "Greek Geography" is not so noticeable, but it is all the more convincing. In the Strabo's Geography, which he wrote in Greek towards the latter years of his life, 18-23 A.D., we find in all manuscripts, instead of Huni or Hiung-nu in the neighbourhood of China, the folk-name Fauni. It is so in the manuscripts at Florence, the Escorial, Moscow, and, which I have seen with my own eyes, in five manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—namely "(the Greek Kings of Bactria) have extended their kingdom to the Seres and Fauns."

This curious sentence, around which the proof of the Hiung-nu-Hun identity must turn, has not been sufficiently appreciated from the sinological side, inasmuch as only Deguignes, the French Orientalist, has occupied himself with it, without, however, suspecting the Huns to be covered by the Fauns. Deguignes was acquainted with the Casaubonus-Morelli edition of Strabo's Geography, in which there is the mistake Σαρων instead of Σηρών. On this ground, and on the authority of the Chinese Pân-ku, he identified the Sür people erroneously with the Scythian people Su, who lived on the Jaxartes River. Deguignes, in opposition to the view of Vaillant, was of opinion that the Bactrian King Menander had not advanced in the East

as far as the Chinese. But Σύρων is nothing more than an imaginary assumption of Casaubonus, which Vaillant, Falconer, and Tzschuke have shown to be erroneous; for, on the one hand, the Bactrian kingdom never reached as far as Syria and Phœnicia; on the other, it is impossible to refer the expression Σηρῶν καὶ Φαύνῶν to the western territory of Asia; on the contrary, only people of the Far East could be so called, to which part the campaigns of Alexander the Great never reached. For this reason the identification of Sür = Su has no scientific basis.

Even Deguignes had discarded the Phœnician theory of Casaubonus; nevertheless, he gave undoubted credit to the Phrynes assumption of Vaillant, as can be seen from the following sentence:

"It is asserted that he (namely, Menander, the King of Bactria, in 190 B.C.) pushed forward as far as the Scythian peoples, called by Strabo Sür and Faun. Vaillant has reproduced these under the names Seres and Fauni. The latter were Scythians, the neighbours of the Seres, or rather, Süren."

Although the textual critics of the works of Strabo could not, in other geographical or historic books, find a suitable analogy for the folk-name Fauni—in spite of the known paleographic fact that it exists not only in all the manuscripts of Strabo's Geography, but also in all the old printed copies—they, nevertheless, looked upon this Fauni folk-name as erroneous; they therefore thought that they could substitute one by silly conjectures from the works of Dionysius, Pliny, or Ptolemy, as, for instance, Φρυγῶν, Φρονῶν, or Γουναίων. In consequence of the mistaken assumption of Vaillant-Tzschucke, it has thus come to pass that, on Müller's Strabonian map, the neighbouring people of the Seres are shown as Phrynes instead of Fauni.

8. *The Gothic Tradition of the Origin of the Huns.*

I have, however, discovered as correct the folk-name Fauni in the Gothic tradition of the origin of the Huns,

and that not only phonetically and literally, but also the actual sense according to its meaning, which, resting upon ancient tradition, gives undoubtedly a sure account of the paternal stock of the Huns, showing itself by this to have been identical with that of the Hiung-nu people.

The most noteworthy Gothic historian, Cassiodorus, was born in the actual year when the King of the Huns, Attila, came to the throne; he became Chancellor of the Exchequer of the Gothic King, Vitigus, but later turned monk, and in the year A.D. 526 wrote the history of the Goths in Latin. It is true that this book is lost, but its history of the origin of the Huns is preserved equally (1) in the work "*Getica*," which was written in Latin, also by a Gothic historian, named Fordanes, in A.D. 551, (2) as well as in the "*Historia Miscella*" in such fragmentary extracts as remain.

Both sources in the main agree word for word, but in those passages in which they differ the one supplements the other. The history book "*Historia Miscella*" received its name from its three compilers: (1) Eutropius, who wrote the history of the Roman Empire up to the time of the Emperor Valentinian. (2) This work was continued by Paulus Diaconus up to the Emperor Justinian. (3) From that period it was carried forward by Landulfus Sagax up to the year A.D. 806. It says:

"In those days the Hun people, who for a long time had been living enclosed in inaccessible mountain fastnesses, made a violent attack upon the people of the Goths, whom they harassed to the utmost, and finally drove out of their old habitations, which they then took possession of for themselves. This warlike people originated, according to the traditions of hoary antiquity, in the following manner:

"Filimer, King of the Goths, son of Gadaric the Great, who was the fifth in succession to hold the rule of the Getae after their migration from the island of Scandza, and who,

as we have said, entered the lands of Scythia with his tribe, got to know of the presence among his people of certain '*Maga*' women who in Gothic language are called *Alirumnae*. Suspecting these women, he expelled them from the midst of his race, and compelled them to wander in solitary exile far from his army.

"There the forest men, which some call *Fauni ficarii*, who beheld them as they wandered through the wilderness, bestowed their embraces upon them, and begat this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps—a stunted, foul, and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language, save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech. Such was the descent of the Huns, who came to the country of the Goths . . . for by the terror of their features they inspired great fear in those whom, perhaps, they did not really surpass in war. They made their foes flee in horror, because their swarthy aspect was fearful, and they had, if I may call it so, a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes. Their hardihood is evident in their wild appearance, and they are beings who are cruel to their children on the very day they are born, for they cut the cheeks of the males with a sword, so that before they receive the nourishment of milk they must learn to endure wounds. Hence they grow old, beardless; and their young men are without comeliness, because a face furrowed by the sword spoils by its scars the natural beauty of a beard. They are ugly, but quick and excellent horsemen, broad-shouldered, ready in the use of bow and arrow, and have firm-set necks, which are ever erect in pride. Though they live in the form of men, they have the cruelty of wild beasts."

9. *The Paternal Stock of the Huns are the Fauni
Ficarii.*

The Gothic tradition of the origin of the Huns as at the same time the document for the origin of the Hungarians

was an opinion at first expressed by Bishop Liutprand; but the oldest Hungarian chroniclers—namely, Kezai, Thuróczi, Bonfini, and Olah—looked upon this tradition as fabulous and invented; on the other hand, the foreign historians looked upon it as an historic truth, the one with more, the other with less, superficial judgment.

The essence of our Gothic source of information is the positive testimony that the Huns had their origin from *two folk-tribes*—namely, the paternal stock of the Huns was determined in the following way: “*Silvestres homines, quos nonnulli Faunos ficarios vocant*” = “The forest men, which some call Fauni ficarii.” This unknown idea, expressed by seven words, occurs in the “*Historia Miscella*,” and besides in the famous chronicles of Ekkehardus, Sigebertus, Vincentius, Antoninus, Doglioni, and Thuróczi. But it originated in the first place in the Biblical expositions—namely, in the Latin translation of the Bible, the so-called “*Vulgata*” of St. Hieronymus. For this Biblical expression, “*Pilosi satabunt ibi*,” he explained in the following way: “*Incubones vel Satyros vel Silvestres quosdam homines, quos nonnulli Fatuos ficarios vocant aut daemonum genera intelligunt*.”

Whereas in all the manuscript copies of St. Hieronymus which have come down to us there is *Fatuos ficarios*, the sequence extends to all the seven words; for, instead of *Fatuos ficarios*, the chosen expression, *Faunos ficarios*, in the “*Vulgate Teremius*,” x. 39, which corresponds to the Hebrew “*ijjim*,” can be the only authoritative one for us. The highly-learned compiler of the “*Patrologia*” teaches that St. Hieronymus had used the term *Fauni ficarii* instead of the simple *Fauni*, whom the poets looked upon as gods, and who led a wild animal-like life in the forests. Surely the idea of the term *Fauni ficarii*, which originates from the great Church father, also according to the explanation of St. Isidorus, who is here the greatest authority,

must be identical with the Fauni idea of the Latin classics :

"Those who are usually called Incubo, the Romans call Fauni ficarii. As Horace says: 'Lover of tormented Nymphs, O Faun! Go about my surroundings and on the sunny fields with light steps.'"

The Latin poet Ovid understood by Fauns the Genii of the forests. Also Grimm, the first-class specialist in German mythology, teaches: "The forest deities may be translated into Latin by the word 'Faun.'"

On the grounds of these proofs the idea of the Gothic tradition—"The forest men, which some call Fauni ficarii"—agrees completely with the folk-name Fauni of the "Geography of Strabo."

10. *The Paternal Stock of the Hun was, as is known, also called "Spiritus Immundi."*

In the book of history of Tornandes the paternal stock of the Huns does not occur as Fauni ficarii, except with the expression "Spiritus immundi." There can therefore be no doubt that both expressions represent one and the same idea, that Fauni ficarii = Spiritus immundi.

According to my researches, the expression Spiritus immundi is first used by the Church father St. Hieronymus in the "Vulgata"—namely, in the 7th Chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark, where we are told that a Syro-Phœnician woman on the borders of the cities of Tyre and Sidon asked Jesus to drive an *evil spirit* out of her daughter. St. Hieronymus has translated this expression once by "Spiritus immundi," but three times by "demonium."

In the same way Du Fresne teaches trustworthily in the Latin dictionary of the Middle Ages that the idea of Spiritus immundi among the Latin Christian writers is identical with that of demons. This determination of idea makes the following equalization clear :

Spiritus immundi = Demons.

The Greek source of Strabo in reference to the women was the lost book of history, "Parthica," by Artemita Apollodorus, who, as contemporary historian, knew best the history of the Greek Kings of Bactria. Now, demonology was very much developed in Bactria; accordingly—

In Old Bactrien "Daiva" = Demon, Devil.

In Zend "Daeva" = Demon, Giant.

In Persian "Div" = Demon, Giant, Hero.

In Armenian "Dev" = Demon, Devil.

As the word Daeva is masculine gender, for this reason the demons were mostly accounted male; and it is characteristic that in the Gothic tradition *Spiritus immundi* are also of male gender, therefore corresponding to the paternal stock of the Huns.

The native home of the Daevas is the north. On the mightiest mountain-top of Elbrus, in the Caucasus Mountains, lived the evil spirit Abriman, who was looked upon as their creator. According to their evil ways they were always thinking of how they could injure the good Mazda believers.

This conception of Daeva corresponds to the Demon idea in the Gatha, in the later Avesta, in the Pehlevi books, as well as in Firdusi's *Shahnameh*. The name "Daeva" is mostly met with in the Persian sacred book "Vendidad"; yes, even the analyzed meaning of the word "Vendidad"—namely, Ven + div + dad—means much the same as "law against demons." The Daevas and Dshadu's—i.e., the Median Magians—held the rule in Persia before the appearance of Zarathustra, of which the confession of faith among the Parsees is a witness:

"I drive out the Daevas, I confess myself as a Zarathustrian, as a driver out of the Daevas, adherent to the teaching of Ahura. I renounce the dominion of the evil, bad, unjust, wandering, wicked-knowing Daevas. . . . I renounce the Daevas, renounce those possessed of Daevas, renounce the wizards, renounce all bad beings. I renounce the thoughts, words, works, and signs of their dominion.

In such manner has Zarathustra renounced the dominion of the Daevas, as the pure Zarathustra has renounced them. I bring every good thing before Ahura-Mazda. This be the praise of the mazdayaṇian laws."

11. *Another Name of the Hiung-nu was Kûy-fang.*

It is chronologically determined that the so-called Fauni people are first mentioned in Strabo's Geography in the year 190 B.C., when Menander, the Greek King of Bactria, pushed the frontiers of his kingdom towards the east into districts into which Alexander the Great did not penetrate. This happened in 194-187 B.C., when the second King of the Han dynasty, Hui-ti, nominally sat upon the Chinese throne. Besides Seres—i.e., China—the other neighbouring State of Bactria, concerning which the Greek historian Apollodorus gives an account, could be no other than the Hiung-nu kingdom, where Mao-tun *shan-yü*, the Attila of the Hiung-nu people, ruled over twenty-six tribes from 209-175 B.C., and with his warriors, numbering between three and four hundred thousand men, regained from the Chinese the northern parts of the countries of Chih-li, Shan-si, and Shen-si, which the Ts'in dynasty had seized from the Hiung-nu *shan-yü* Teu-man.

Startling testimony is that the Hiung-nu folk were called by the Chinese also Kûy-fang. Kûy means, namely, in Chinese as much as Demon, which sign appears all the more marked, inasmuch as in the Chinese written characters for the word Kûy there lies hidden the conception of a demon's head. The Chinese text in reference to Kûy-fang in the text of the dynastic history "Tsin-shu 97₁₄" has been kindly translated for me by the English sinologist, Professor E. H. Parker, as follows:

"The Hiung-nu land south joins on Yen and Chao, north reaches the Sha-moh, east joins the Nine Tribes, and west keeps off the Six Jung. Generation after generation they are prince and subject to each other, not accepting the Central State's calendar system. The Hia called them

Hün-yüh—the Yin, Kwei-fang—the Chou, Hien-yün, the Han, Hiung-nu.”

According to this Tsin-shu (also Wei-shu ?) document, it would appear that it was particularly the second dynasty of the Chinese, that called the Hiung-nu people by the name of Kûy-fang. As, however, among the many meanings of the word Fang, the conception of district is predominant, so it is very probable that, according to the explanation of the French sinologist, Professor Ed. Chavannes, the later Chinese historian Sse-ma Chêng was in the right :

“ According to Sse-ma Chêng, the Hiün-yü in the time of Yao and Shön were called mountain Yong or Hiün-jü ; in the time of Hia, Shön-vei ; in the time of the In dynasty *their land was called Kûy-fang* ; in the time of the Chou they were called Hien-yün ; and in the time of the Han, Hiung-nu.”

As, therefore, the folk-name Fauni, besides occurring in Strabo's Geography, also is found in the Gothic tradition of the paternal stock of the Huns, and as this name, both phonetically and metaphorically, carries with it the idea of Demon ; also as in the Chinese tradition of the name Kûy-fang as another designation of the Hiung-nu the meaning of Demon is found ; therefore it may be assumed as proven that the paternal stock of the Huns played really a historic part in the country districts to the north side of the Chinese Great Wall of their time, which is demonstrated by the map of St. Hieronymus.

Whoever among the sinologists, from Klaproth down to Kingsmill, in spite of this testimony have denied or disputed the identity of the Hiung-nu-Huns, those have not recognized the paternal stock of the Huns.

12. *The Maternal Stock of the Huns are the Massagetae.*

According to the Gothic tradition, the Hun people consisted of two tribes ; the maternal stock of *Getic* origin was never in the neighbourhood of China. Together with the Gothic historians, the contemporary historians of the

Greeks, Armenians, and Romans knew actually the Huns as originating from the Massagetae or as allies of the Massagetae.

In this way the Greek historians Evagrius and Procopius,* the Armenian historians Faustus and Eliseus; finally the Latin historians, who were contemporary with the migration of the Huns—especially *St. Hieronymus*—teach that the Huns lived among the most dreaded of people, the Massagetae. Lastly, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in the most trustworthy manner, records that the Huns in every respect were similar to the Alans, who lived in that stretch of country from the River Don to the Indus, formerly known by the name of Massagetae.

In reference to the ancient designation of the Alans, we find among the Chinese historians a folk-name, which differs phonetically from Massagetae; for the Chinese called the Alans, before they were conquered by the Hiung-nu, An-ts'ai, or with the present pronunciation, Yen-ts'ai.

Latin and Greek, *Massagetae* = Chinese, *An-ts'ai*.

13. *The Maternal Stock of the Huns are the Maga Women.*

The Gothic tradition has deduced the maternal stock of the Huns, which originated from the Massagetae, through the Maga women:

"Quasdam Magas mulieres, quas gothico sermone Alirumnas dicunt" = "Certain Maga women, who in Gothic language are called Alirumnae."

The Maga women (who in Gothic language were called Alirumnae) are usually placed on an equality with witches and concubines, because the well-known sorceress Circe was also called Maga; besides this in the Latin literature upon the ecclesiastical penal code the same association of ideas occurs—the Strigimagae—i.e., Maga witches, instead of Maga women.

* Massagetae, who were later called Huns.

This conception of the word *Maga*, we can, by means of comparative philology, place upon a circumstantial scientific basis. The Armenian word *Dshata* is, namely, of feminine gender, and has the meaning of witch. But *Dshatu* is, however, in Armenian a borrowed word, for in Persian and Pehlevi, *Dshadu* is a word of masculine gender, with the conception of magic and magician. But because, according to the syntactical laws of the Latin language, the substantive *Magus* has a feminine form *Maga*, in consequence *Maga* means a woman who occupies herself with magic and sorcery. On the other hand, the Persian and East-Turkish word *Gar*=concubine. This word *Gar*, which together with the word *Hun*, has common root in the word *Hungar*, may in popular etymology have connected this element *Gar* with the conception of *Maga*; but in tradition with the Gothic word *Alirumna*.

Alirumna appears in the various manuscripts as *Aliruna*, *Aliurumna*, *Haluirunna*, *Aliorune*, *Alirunna*; on the other hand, in Germanic speech, *Alruna*, *Hellerune*; but in the Swedish dictionary as *Alruna*=the *Alrunes*, the Northern Vestals. Farther, in Dutch, *Alruna* equals among the ancient Germans heathen priestesses or prophetesses; and, finally, in Anglo-Saxon *Hellerune* means a *Pythonissa*.

Therefore *Maga*=*Alirumna* is by no means a common woman; on the contrary, a pure woman, the priestess of sanctity, the nourisher of the sacred fire, who had the power of prophecy.

13. *Ta Shuh-chê.*

According to the testimony of the European historians, the Huns (yes, even the Avars and the fire-worshipping heathen Hungarians) brought with them out of Asia, besides the arts of war, also the *par excellence* Median science, magic. Further, according to the statements of the Chinese writers, there were among those of the northern *Hiung-nu*, who were called *Yüe-bân*, the *Ta Shuh-chê*, meaning "great magicians," or "persons possessing the great craft"; for in Chinese *Ta*=great; *Shuh*=

magic, black art; Shu-chê=magician, wizard, professor of the black art.

The historic document which follows lower down, I have translated out of the Russian book of sinologist Yakint Bichurin, after which Professor E. H. Parker was kind enough to compare my translation with the Chinese text and correct it:

"The land of the Yüe-ban lies north-westward of the U-sun, and is distant from Tai 10,930 li. Their ancestors, belonging to the *Hiung-nu North shan-yü's* domain, were a tribe whom the Chinese General Töu-hien had driven away. . . . It has been said that there are in their country certain *magicians*, who at the time of the attack by the Joojânes could conjure up soaking rain, violent hurricanes, great snows, and, moreover, floods. Two-tenths or even three-tenths of the Joojânes were either frozen to death, or perished from the waters."

Accordingly, after my proofs from historic geography, it now remains for the specialists, sinologists, and historians to speak their final judgment upon my contention—that the ancestral origin of the Hiung-nu name, and the Hiung-nu history of the paternal stock of the Huns, afterwards brought to Europe, must be traced back to the Chinese Great Wall.

"THROUGH PERSIA FROM THE GULF TO THE CASPIAN."*

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

It is wellnigh thirty years since I followed the route of which Mr. Bradley-Birt has now published so interesting an account. In May of 1881, on the conclusion of the Afghan War, my eldest brother (now Colonel C. E. Yate, ex-Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan) and I started for England via Persia and Russia. I had ninety days' leave, so time was precious. We traversed the thousand miles from Bushire to Resht or Enzeli on horseback at the average rate of sixty miles a day. The steamer (*British India*) that bore us at the end of May from Karachi to Bushire carried no ice. The Government of India had treated its soldiers better; for when each regiment, withdrawing from Kandahar, reached the rail-head at the southern end of the Bolan Pass, it found from 1,500 to 2,000 pounds of ice awaiting it. The British India Company left its officers and passengers alike to face the sweltering Persian Gulf without ice. It would be interesting to know if the early navigators of the Indian Ocean and its offshoots succeeded in devising any method of icing their drinks. Even at Cape Coast Castle we received an occasional gift of ice from a passing steamer, and when the Harmattan wind blew, the soda was hung up in wet wrappers to benefit by the rapid evaporation. Did Vasco da Gama or Albuquerque ice their drinks or imbibe them tepid? I must invite the Royal Geographical Society to answer that question. I have always understood that it is more than probable that Arab seamen piloted Vasco da Gama's squadron from the East Coast of Africa to the shores of India. The historian Robertson, in his mono-

* By F. B. Bradley-Birt, I.C.S., F.R.G.S. Smith, Elder and Co., London.

graph on India, refers to the maritime traffic between the Arabian Seas and the Far East, and I have heard that in the days of the prophet Mahommed the Arab navigators of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf traded to Chinese ports. This doubtless was the trade that found its way to Alexandria, and later via the Shat-el-Arab and Baghdad to the Syrian ports on the Mediterranean. It was to tap this trade that Amalfi founded its depôt and *hospitium* at Jerusalem, whence arose, after the First Crusade, the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John. The part played by the Arabs in the history of navigation is imperfectly known; but this at least is known, that in the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ the Byzantine fleets in the Mediterranean could scarce hold their own against the naval power of the Caliphs.

As I read Mr. Bradley-Birt's description of his voyage up the Persian Gulf, scenes almost forgotten come back to me. Once again Kishm and Hormuz and Bandar Abbas seem to rise before my eyes. I can see our steamer winding its way out of Bahrein harbour at nightfall by the tortuous channel through the reefs. The pilot had refused to take the steamer out in the dark, so the captain—to our joy, for we were weary of the stifling heat untempered by ice—said he would do it himself. And he did it. If the Company was Spartan, the captain was a Briton to the backbone. Thankful we were to land at Bushire and partake of the hospitality of Captain and Mrs. MacIvor, the Assistant Resident. There was neither German nor Russian Consul in those days. It was not till ten or more years later that I met a most interesting German dilettante (as I thought) on the Messageries Maritimes steamer, and heard that he had been spending two years at Baghdad. Years passed by, and again I heard that the same man was back at Baghdad as Consul-General. To-day German ambitions in Asia Minor and Turkish Arabia are matter of common notoriety. In and long after 1881 I imagined that Russia was our only foe in the Middle East. It is but a

week or two since an Indian politician, Mr. Mitra, drew attention in an address delivered at Claridge's Hotel to the fact that the German Consul at Karachi has been for years a member of its Port Trust. Personally, I have long known the German Consul at Karachi. He is a general favourite in society there, and has an English wife. And yet, in view of German ambitions and aims, is it wise that a German should be a member of the Karachi Port Trust?

Much in the last quarter of a century has been written on railway projects connecting India with Persia, Turkish Arabia, and the Mediterranean, and again through Afghanistan with the Russian railway system in Central Asia. As Mr. Bradley-Birt points out, no railway can mount the Kamarij, Pir-i-zan, and Dukhtar Kotals between Bushire and Shiraz. The objective of railways from the Central Persian plateau must be either Baghdad, Basrah, or Mohammerah on the Tigris and Shat-al-Arab, or Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf, or Quetta or Karachi. Some twenty years have elapsed since the late General Sir James Browne favoured me with a view of certain maps in his possession on which projected railways connecting Sind and Baluchistan with Persia were marked. So far the extension from Quetta to Nushki is the sole realization of those projects. If the mills of God grind slowly, the brain and hand of man are at times no less deliberate.

I well remember the sultry day early in June, 1881, when a sailing-boat carried us in the afternoon across the Shif lagoon. Mr. Birt crossed it in the British Resident's launch. It was nightfall when we reached our mules and ponies waiting for us on the shore. The long ride in the dark to Borasjun was weary work. It was well past midnight when we aroused the Armenian telegraph-clerk stationed there. He gave us a kindly welcome and cool water to drink. Thence I have followed Mr. Birt past the saline waters of the Daliki River, the fascination of the Shapur sculptures and the orange groves of Kázerun (not Kawerun, as it is erroneously called in Mr. Birt's book), and

up that succession of steep, rugged passes. Was it in the caravanserai of Konar-Takhta that the wily and predatory cat stalked first my leg of mutton and then—but he had to drop it—the tin of potted brawn? I was busy with my diary, after spreading our modest breakfast-table, when a clatter among the crockery made me start round, only to see a cat, black as Erebus, disappearing with our *gigot* into the pitch-dark dungeons—a cellar that underlay the sarai! Ah well! We breakfasted that day less sumptuously than we had hoped to do. All the better, possibly, for our travelling powers! We had still many miles to travel that afternoon! I see the tale of Sir Oliver St. John and the lion is not yet forgotten, and the endurance of the *chārwadār* or Persian muleteer is to-day what we found it twenty-nine years ago. I marched in July, 1885, from Mashhad to the Caspian (370 miles) in eleven days, using the same mules for the entire journey. We averaged thirty-four miles a day, with laden pack-mules. Our average pace was three miles an hour. At the commencement of one fifty-mile night-march the head-man's heart wavered. I said to him, "You must do it, *or* I miss the steamer, and you miss your *bakhshish*." He did it, and I caught my steamer at Bandar-i-Gaz on the evening of the eleventh day. When we reached the approaches to the pass over the Elburz range to Astrabad, the muleteers with mules and baggage parted from me, and made straight for Bandar-i-Gaz. I crossed the mountains, with my Persian servant, a pony, and a mule, to Astrabad, got my passport, and reached Bandar-i-Gaz about two hours before the mules. The memories of the well-known *Daily News* correspondent, O'Donovan, pervaded that route. Poor O'Donovan! He found his fate with Hicks Pasha in the Soudan in (or about) 1883. His memory, I imagine, still lingers round Merv and the northern border of Persia.

It is a rare thing to take up a book about Persia in which no mention is made of Keating's powder. And yet my bold brother and I faced Persia without it. I spent not a

few nights in Persian sarais and posthouses, but not one in a "Persian hut," as Mr. Birt did ; still, I can see my brother and myself—as in a looking-glass—as we appeared in July, 1881, after a night in a resthouse amid the Caspian lowlands. A boiled lobster might have envied us.

And so the remains of Nadir Shah and Karim Khan Zend are buried under the threshold of Aga Mahomed Khan Kajar's palace at Teheran—to gratify the self-made monarch's vanity ! Better the spirit that made John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, place his bones under the steps that lead up into the church at Whitchurch, that the example of his life might not be lost to the generations that were to follow. And when is that example more needed than now, when the national mind knows that a national army is needed, both for the defence of the British Isles and for the discipline of the people ?

The admirable description which I have read in Mr. Bradley-Birt's book of the Shapur sculptures and colossal statue, of Persepolis and the royal tombs in its vicinity, and of the Kabr-i-Madar-i-Sulaiman, make me wish that I had the leisure to compare these descriptions with those which are doubtless to be found in the writings of Gore-Ouseley, Ker-Porter, and other earlier travellers. It cannot but strike the student of travel as remarkable that no route or country seems to pall upon the mind of the omnivorous reading public. On the shelves of the Royal Geographical and Royal Scottish Geographical Societies reposes a wealth of topographical and cosmographical literature rarely disturbed, while the inexhaustible fertility and resource of author and publisher finds ever fresh food for the insatiable wants of the lending libraries ! There may be some truth in the statement that the era of the book-buyer is past, and doubtless a Roxburgh Club to-day would meet no felt want ; but there are one or two things that prove that the book-collector and the buying reader are not obsolete—to wit the frequent appearance of *éditions de luxe*, the enormous number of second-hand booksellers, and the

facility with which the *Times*, Mudie's, Boots', Day's, Cawthorn and Hutt's, Douglas and Foulis', and other great lending libraries unload their "surplus" volumes on to the genuine book-lover, be he or she millionaire or mouse. In the thirty years during which I have known Persia, several volumes have appeared every year treating of that country. As all know, the standard work is that of Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Not a few volumes there are which could well have been spared, but of that of Mr. Bradley-Birt I honestly say that it is the work of an able writer and scholar.

Conditions of travel change in thirty years. My brother and I rode the whole way—except between Teheran and Kazvin, and when we had to dismount and drive our exhausted beasts before us—from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian. We thus avoided the pitfall that waylaid Mr. Birt shortly after he left Persepolis. We, too, were kept waiting at certain stages for animals, but luckily no deputies from Shiraz to the National Assembly preceded us. It can well be imagined that our "mounts" were objects of unceasing interest to us, and we bestrode every gradation between a runaway and a slug. The slugs were legion—poor broken-kneed, sore-backed, ill-fed, and ungroomed brutes! Of runaways there was but one! By repute he had carried his last English rider without a stop at his own sweet will and pace from stage to stage! I mounted him with a plain snaffle, and when he made his effort to break away, just managed to hold him. I rode him for fifty miles, and for the first thirty he was a lovely mount. Then he began to tire, but he bore me gallantly to the end. At the sacred city of Kum we obtained the three horses which we required, to the discomfiture of a Persian Khan, who vowed revenge. I rode the sixteen miles from Kum to Pul-i-dallak as hard as my pony could travel, and on arrival there requisitioned three fresh horses, put them in a corner, and stood over them. The Khan's courier rode in a few minutes after me, but—I had the horses. When the Khan himself

rode up, he had recovered his equanimity, and most courteously invited us to a wayside tea. All Persians carry a tea apparatus swinging from the saddle of their mount, be it camel, horse, or mule. The two latter move at an amble, and do not dash the vessels about as cantering or trotting would do.

I gather that Mr. Bradley-Birt has no very sanguine anticipation of the results of constitutional government in Persia. I do not for one moment consider that that is the way to look at it. I am with Professor E. J. Browne, of Cambridge, and wish success to the Young Persian Party: What lessons about constitutional government have England, France, and all, or most, of the nations or states of Europe taught us? The lesson that the rights of the people are only to be won by the efforts of the people. Have we forgotten Magna Charta and the Parliamentary wars? Are we oblivious of the battles of Party during the last 250 years? Will France ever forget the Revolution of 1789? True that Napoleon said that a few rounds of grape would have swept it all away. For the moment, maybe: but the people of France would not have tolerated the repetition of the reigns of Louis XV. and XVI.

My earnest hope is that both in Turkey and in Persia strong constitutional governments will establish themselves, and that popular opinion will make itself a power, which will call to account all administrators, high and low. We constantly see clearly enough, by our own experiences in India, that the demands of Orientals nurtured in the schools of Western thought will not err on the side of moderation. The Indian in South Africa claims there equal rights with the European; and when the European says "No," resorts to every device of intrigue and passive or active resistance to gain his end. This temper, at any rate, is more healthy than that which winks at the ancient methods of malversation and maladministration.

We have brought up many of our young Indian princes under English tutors, and I would fain hope that they

have proved the better men for it. I could wish that the little heir to the Persian Throne might also come under the influence of European gentlemen; and even if his education be not completed at an European University, I cannot but think that a year of travel might with advantage precede his formal assumption of the sovereignty of Persia.

In 1881 we found the Zill-us-Sultan, the eldest son of Nasir-uddin-Shah, residing at Ispahan. He held at that time the government of a great part of Southern Persia. As is known to those who have followed the history of Persia during the last twenty-five years, his fall came a few years later, and now he is practically an exile from his native land. Accompanied by the British Agent (an Armenian) my brother and I paid our respects to him at his palace. As at that time we knew little Persian, we conversed in French, of which language the Zill-us-Sultan possessed a very limited knowledge. I must confess that the frock-coat, which Mr. Bradley-Birt states to be *de rigueur* on the occasion of such visits, was in our case not forthcoming. When we reached the civilization of Shiraz, Ispahan and Teheran, we evinced our acquaintance with the ways of polished society by producing from "its cramped quarters in a Gladstone bag" not a frock-coat, but a suit of dress clothes. This coupled with a respectable morning suit constituted our sole claim to recognition in polite circles.

If I may express a preference for any single chapter in Mr. Birt's book, it is that entitled "By the Graves of Sa'di and Hafiz." It brings back the memories of studies which I pursued with some ardour from 1880 to 1885. Then came active service, and I never again seriously studied Persian. When with the Afghan Boundary Commission early in 1885, Colonel (now Sir West) Ridgeway handed to me for translation the proclamation sent by the Mahdi to the Imam-i-Juma at Mashhad. I have often regretted that I kept no copy of either original or trans-

lation. The Mahdi figures so prominently in the political history of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, that his appeal to the Faithful in 1884-1885 is a document of no small literary and historical interest.

I venture to mention one or two cases in which Mr. Bradley-Birt has adopted principles of transliteration which do not accord with my own. Khawam-ul-mulk (pp. 140 and 310) should be written "Kawam" (قوام), and on p. 172 "Rukhn" should be written "Rukn" (رکن).

One thing further strikes me as remarkable, and that is that there is not a single date given throughout the book. I found myself unable to ascertain in what year Mr. Bradley-Birt made his journey.

I was interested to find mention in Mr. Birt's volume of one of Sir Lindsay Bethune's military exploits when he was in the Persian service. How few know anything about Lindsay Bethune! Let me refer the reader to Kaye's "Life of Sir John Malcolm," vol. ii., p. 5. As a young artillery officer of eighteen years of age, he accompanied Malcolm to Persia in 1810. He is described as of "gigantic stature," being about seven feet high. A Persian was heard one morning in camp shouting to Lindsay's servant: "Is your date-tree asleep or awake?" Lindsay became later Sir Henry Lindsay Bethune, spent most of his life in the Persian army, and so distinguished himself by acts of gallantry, that the Persian nation almost regarded him as a reincarnation of Rustam. In the first half of the nineteenth century British officers trained, organized and led the Persian troops. In the second half of that century the Russian was invited to undertake that task.

I have to thank Mr. Bradley-Birt for awakening many memories which have been asleep for years.

THE FIRST STRUGGLE FOR THE AMOUR.

BY H. HAVELOCK.

THE Cossack "stanitsa" of Albazin stands some 170 miles to the east of the junction of the Argun with the Shilka, where the two become the Amour. The defence of this post by a handful of heroes under Tolbuzin and Von Beiton was a feat compared with which the defence of Sevastopol grows pale. Before entering into details a glance may be cast at the story of how Russia became mistress of these regions. It was the work, as is well known, of Cossack hands; almost of their own accord those champions of the Faith crossed the Ural, traversed Siberia to the Pacific, and, stepping across Behring Strait, found themselves in America, bearing the burden of all the conflicts with men of other races and the struggle with the mighty Chinese Empire, which the conquering Manchurs had recently revived.

Perhaps the only name much known of that band of heroes is that of Yermak, who, in October, 1581, rapidly crossed the Ural, seized the town of Isker, or Sibir, and sent envoys to "do homage to His Majesty, Ivan Vasilevich the Terrible, for the new kingdom of Sibir." Three years later he perished in the waters of the Irtysh, and for a time the Russians were expelled from the conquered country, but not for long. The Voevodes Sukin, Myatnov, and Chulkov led a new array across the Ural and established Russian sway there. To hold down the country and colonize, the towns of Tiumen, Tobolsk, Verkhoturie, Pelym, Tara, and others, were founded. In 1636 the Cossack Yelisei Buza sailed down the Lena to the Frozen Ocean, and so reached the river Yana. In 1648 Semeon Dejnev and two other leaders circumnavigated the Asiatic continent, and passed through Behring Strait—*i.e.*, covered

part of the route which recently brought laurels to Nordens-
ujöld—and Aleksyeev actually sailed round Kamchalka.

At the same time other bold spirits, pushing south-east, were making, unknown to themselves, for the basin of the Amour, and fabulous Cathay, then the promised land of European commerce, long the aim of merchants as a country rich in precious wares. Marco Polo had brought back the most circumstantial accounts of its wealth. Perestrello reached Canton in a small ship in 1516, but as the route round the Cape was too lengthy a shorter was sought, and the geographers of the day regarded the Frozen Ocean as such. Willoughby, and a little later Chancellor and Burrow followed the route suggested by Cabot. The former

"In Arzina caught,
Perished with all his crew,"

while the second strayed into Archangel on his way home, and became the first English commercial visitant to Russia. As Mercator still relied on Pliny in his counsels to the adventurers, it is perhaps not wonderful they made no greater progress. But the fishers and traders of the White Sea knew the way both into the Obi and the Yenisei estuaries, as is shown by a letter of Boris Godunov, dated in 1600. A little later, sailing in those waters was prohibited on pain of death, for fear of showing foreigners the way to Siberia, then regarded as Russia's Ophir. The land route to China was meanwhile well known to their countrymen, and as early as 1567 Ivan had sent an embassy there, with the Cossacks Petrov and Yalychev at its head.

Another, sent in 1616 by Mikhail Fyodorovich to Altyn Khan of Kunkong, encountered Chinese envoys at his Court, and reported as follows touching them to the TomsK Voevodé: "And there were with the Golden Tsar men of other empires, and we asked them of those empires, and they said to us, 'Theirs is the Cathayan kingdom, and they have a Tsar, and his name is Taibyn (Mai-min-hof of the Van-li dynasty), and the Cathayan kingdom stands on the edge of a sea-gulf, and the town is of brick, and round

the town is a ride on horseback of ten days, and their arms there are muskets and cannon. And to Cathay come great ships with sails, and in them are traders, and in each ship are 200 or 300 men. And they wear clothes of the Bukharan fashion. The distance from the Golden Tsar to Cathay on horseback is a month's journey, and there are no great rivers, but the country is level, and there are no mountains.'” In 1620 Petlin brought back to the same Tsar Mikhail “a sketch, and description of the Cathayan territory.” A year before the first sheets from China had reached Russia, but remained uninterpreted till 1649, for want of someone acquainted with the character. “In this world,” wrote the Celestial, “you are a great Emperor, and I no small King; let there be a clear road between us, that you may ride up and down and bring your best; I, on the other hand, will bestow on you fine damasks.” “In my father's time,” he writes later, “there came from you, great monarch, traders, but now they do not come. When they come to me they shall be as bright as the moon in heaven, and I shall rejoice and welcome them. You sent me a pair of elk-horns, and I gave you in return 700 pieces of damask, and so you now send me your best I will repay you still more highly.”

The first considerable mission was sent in 1653, under Baikov, and reached Pekin in March, 1656, where it met with a complete failure. Meanwhile the Russians were coming into direct contact with the frontiers of China. Having established themselves on the Lena, the only river whose waters issue into the temperate Pacific, that sea, which may yet play the part of the Mediterranean, naturally became their aim. They moved by land only along water-sheds, and then proceeded by water to the next basin, much as their Varang forefathers did when journeying to the Greeks. The Tunguzes told Perfiliev of a Prince Batoga, whereupon he went in search of him, but had to return for want of provisions. The new Voevode of Irkutsk, on hearing of it, sent out a party under Vekhteyarov, who found that the Stanovoi Range lay between them and the great river that

flowed eastward. The first to sight that river was the Secretary Poyarkov. He proceeded up the River Aldan from its mouth, and thence by the Honam, in which latter alone they counted sixty-four cataracts. Despite the winter which came upon them, and famine, resulting in scurvy, of which sixty of his little band of ninety died, he pushed on up the Niuetka across the Stanovoi Range, and by the valley of the Bryanda reached the Zea. His lieutenant, Minim, having brought up provisions, he dropped down that river to the Amour, proceeded to descend it, and next summer, having built sea-going vessels, went north by the Sea of Okhotsk. After twelve weeks' sailing they were thrown ashore above the Ulya. Early in the spring, leaving twenty men to exact tribute from the natives, he journeyed to the upper waters of the Maya, built a ship, and returned to Irkutsk after a three years' absence. Thus the route to the Amour was discovered.

Adventurers soon hastened to the valley of that river, but the honour of the conquest belongs wholly to Khabarov. He was of an adventurous and calculating disposition, "after the manner of the Yaroslavtsy." In March, 1648, he waited on Franzbekov, on his way to his post as Voevode at Yakutsk, and declaring he knew the way to the dominions of Lovkai and Batoga asked leave to enrol a band of 150 men. The leave was given, with instructions to levy tribute on the natives encountered, and exact the oath of fealty from them. If the princes submitted willingly, he was to leave them in power as before. The next spring he went down the Lena to the mouth of the Tugur, then, dragging his arms and provisions on sledges, crossed the Stanovoi Range, and next year reached the Amour. Soon after, descending the great river, the adventurers came upon a town built of timber, with five towers. The walls were surrounded with a deep moat, and had sallyports. It stood upon a point formed by a river falling into the Amour. There were stone buildings with windows two ells in height, and having paper in the frames instead of

glass. This town was empty, and below it lay two more, in which also they found no living soul. Near the third they met five horsemen, these being Prince Lovkai, with his two brothers, his brother-in-law, and a servant. Through the interpreter he asked Khabarov who they were, and he replied, "They were Russians, and had come to trade," but Lovkai disbelieved him. "Kvashnin was here before you, and said many of you were coming; you wish to kill and plunder us, and take our wives and children into captivity. We have no sabres; what we have we have given to Prince Bogdo and your Kvashnin." To this Khabarov replied: "Give tribute to the Russian Tsar, that he may protect you." But Lovkai listened no longer, turned his horse and made off.

Proceeding a day later, they reached a fourth town, where again there was no one. From thence they sailed by night and reached a fifth town, where they took an old woman, Lovkai's sister, named Megelchik, who had been ransomed from Bogdo. Being tortured by fire, she declared that her brothers had fled to Princes Shilgaley and Hildiga to await them. She told also how Bogdo drank from silver and gold vessels. Learning of a gathering of the Daur Princes to stand on their defence against the Russians, Khabarov turned back, and, leaving his followers fortified in the first town, returned to Yakutsk to report.

In the autumn of 1651 he was back again on the Amour, and immediately proceeded to besiege the neighbouring town of Prince Albaza, which he took with the loss of one man wounded by an arrow. In it were great stores of wheat, and Khabarov resolved to winter there, christening it Albazin. He sent in pursuit of the defenders 130 men in light order, who next day reached a small town subject to Prince Atoi. The inhabitants fled, but turned on the pursuers, but again fled at their attack, leaving 170 head of cattle to the victors. A few days later Khabarov took the field, and was attacked by numerous horsemen, whom he routed. In this encounter Prince Shingalei was taken,

who told them the Daur rulers paid tribute to the Celestial King Shamsha Khan, who, in his turn, was subject to Alaba tûr Khan. On Khabarov's report, orders were given for envoys to be sent from Yakutsk to Shamsha Khan, demanding his voluntary submission to Tsar Alexis. Meantime Khabarov had descended the Amour to a small town, where was a party of fifty Manchurs sent by Khan Bogdo to raise tribute, and who prudently became spectators. Khabarov brought two guns he now had to bear on two of the towers, and, having made a breach, assaulted at dawn. The Russians lost 4 killed, and took 243 women and girls, 430 horses, and 130 head of horned cattle. Next day the leader of the Manchurs appeared in a silk robe and sable cap to treat, but the interview came to nothing, as the parties did not understand each other.

After some six weeks the Russians resumed their course downstream, but soon halted a week in the town of Prince Badbulai, deserted by its inhabitants. Scouts brought word that below the confluence with the Zeya was a large town which Khabarov resolved to seize. During a festival his men fell on the Duhers and seized two of their princes, whereupon they submitted. The latter he retained as hostages, but their subjects fled into the interior, nor could torture induce the rulers to order them back, though it made one of them cut his throat. Resuming their march shortly afterwards, the adventurers reached the mouths of the River Shûngal (Sungari), and eight days later the cultivated lands came to an end, and the country of the Achans, who lived on fish, began. This tribe joined with the Duhers in attacking a small town constructed by Khabarov to winter in, but, being put to flight, submitted.

Here the Russians had their first hostile encounter with the Manchuro-Chinese. At dawn on March 24, 1653, a cannon-shot rang out, and Esaül (Captain) Ivanov, rushing out, saw a whole hostile array under the walls, and lustily gave the alarm. It proved to be a Chinese force with artillery under Prince Isenya, which had already broken

down three lengths of the wall. A desperate rally made the natives recoil, and a sally following resulted in the capture of two guns and many being killed. All their provisions were taken, 630 horses, and a number of three and four-barrelled matchlocks.

Upon Khabarov's first report and the receipt of some sable skins the Tsar determined to secure the possession of the Amour, and accordingly sent thither a force of 3,000 men under Prince Ivan Lobanov-Rostovsky. The tales of the Cossacks returning from the Amour turned the heads of the settlers on the Lena. So great was the rush that the death penalty had to be attached to such migration. Zimoviev, who was sent forward to prepare the way for Lobanov, gave orders to erect three small towns at intervals towards the mouth of the Zeya. He also urged the adventurers to engage in agriculture, not at all to their liking, and Khabarov supported them in their reluctance, for which, we learn, the former called him a "robber of the Treasury," and more than once caught him by the beard. Later in the year, taking Khabarov with him almost as a prisoner, he left the Amour, wintered at the post on the Tugûr, where he buried guns, powder, and lead, and early in 1655 returned to Moscow.

Neither of them ever went back to the Amour; Khabarov being loaded with favours by the Tsar, and appointed Imperial Deputy on the Lena, from the Kuta to the confines of Yakutsk. We do not know when he died, or where he was buried. With his departure things took a fresh turn. A brief glance at the state of affairs in China is here necessary.

In the sixteenth century, under the Mim dynasty, Manchuria was divided among several "aimaks," or tribes, which were at perpetual feud. The Chinese kept aloof except for occasional punitive expeditions. In the course of such were killed the grandfather and father of Nur Hatsi, the progenitor of the present Dai-Tsin dynasty. He himself increased his power, till, in 1616, he could take the title

of Emperor, and declared war somewhat later against China. In 1620 the taking of Mukden made the balance incline finally in favour of the Manchurs. In 1625 Nur Hatsu made that city his capital, and died there next year. His successor, Abakhai, was in his turn succeeded by Shiun Chi, a minor, thanks to which Khabarov performed his exploits. Little heed was paid by the young sovereign's advisers to the small bands of strange folk that appeared on the Amour, the more so that the anarchy bequeathed by the House he succeeded had taken deep root in the South. In default of protecting the subject peoples from the Russians, the Chinese Government bade them leave the Amour region, and migrate to the River Nouni, which was done in 1654. This was the first blow to Russian supremacy.

Zinoviev left matters in the hands of Onufrii Stepanov, whose position was no easy one, as the Cossacks would not till the ground, and everything ran short. He had not even the means of feeding himself, he had but very few ships, and there was no wood of which to build more, so he determined to drop down to the mouth of the Sungari.

Here the Russians met with their first reverse. They were attacked by the Manchurs, horse and foot, the last in barges on the river, and supported by an irregular levy of Daur. We learn for the first time that the former were divided into bodies having flags of various colours, and the men being equipped in the corresponding colour. They opened a furious fire from behind gabions, and the Russians, having exhausted their ammunition, were forced to drop down to the Amour again. Soon after Stepanov was joined by a boyar's son named Beketov, who had made his way thither across the Baikal, crossing the Yablonov Range, and thence on a raft down the Ingoda. Stepanov made a halt at the mouth of the Komara, and repaired the work there. His three guns he mounted on a high mound in such a way that their fire could be concentrated on any point. This preparation was soon to be put to the

test, for in March, 1655, huge masses of Manchurs, estimated by him at 10,000, assailed the fort. He was surprised, and twenty of his men working in a wood were killed or captured. After an unsuccessful assault on the 24th the enemy lost heart, and retreated after four weeks' siege. The Cossacks regarded this as a miracle in answer to their prayers and fasting.

The difficulty, however, was constantly the lack of provisions, and a reinforcement only added to this, while his men evaded agricultural labour to the utmost. Moscow, however, supported Stepanov, first in the shape of a laudatory letter from the Tsar, bidding him not seek any quarrels; and, secondly, by the despatch of Pashkov with 300 Cossacks, with orders to erect a post in a suitable spot and take over charge of the country. Provisions were also sent by river, but did not reach Stepanov, thanks to a band of cut-throats under a certain Sorokin. They seized the post of Ust-Kutski, and had the audacity to lay an ambush for the Voevode on his way from the Ilim; but got tired of waiting for him, and turned to seize the provisions. Their leader even dug up the powder and lead which Zinoviev had buried, and started plundering along the Amour, but the band was there scattered by an armed force.

Pashkov, meanwhile, had reached the Shilka, where in 1658 he founded Nerchinsk. He sent out a party to look for Stepanov, but catastrophe had befallen the pioneers. In June, 1656, their leader was below Sungari, when he was suddenly fallen on by the Chinese in forty-seven ships, with guns and muskets. He was killed, and 270 of his followers perished with him. The fugitives rallied at the Komara post to the number of 227, whence most of them somehow found their way to Pashkov and the remainder to Irkutsk (on the Shilka). There is evidence that the Chinese next year ascended the Amour and besieged Albazin, the garrison holding out bravely for two years, and marching out with the honours of war. Who commanded it, or

what its strength was, we do not learn, nor why Pashkov failed to succour it.

Russian prestige was destined to be restored by Nikiphor Chernigovski, said to be the first Pole sent to Siberia. How he came there we do not know, only that he was inspector of the salt works at Ust-Kutski Post. His wife having been taken from him by the Yeniseisk Voevode Obrikhov, he got together the remnants of Sorokin's band, lay in wait for the seducer, and killed him, and, having laid hands on all he could, public or private property, fled to the Amour just as the Chinese were returning home. He found Albazin a heap of ashes, and hastily built on the site of it a wooden fortalice, with two towers on the river front. Then he collected from the natives tribute of the still famous dark sables of the district, seeing that the best were sent to the Tsar at Moscow with a petition for pardon. An involuntary settler among them was the monk Hermogen, who in 1671 erected not far from the Post a monastery in honour of the Saviour, almost the first earnest of missionary activity in dealing with the natives of the Amour. About the same time was erected in the place the Church of the Resurrection, where it is said the liturgy was first heard in those parts.

In March, 1672, the tidings of Chernigovski's doings reached Moscow, and the fiat went forth that he and his son should be executed and forty-six of his adherents knouted. But as with Yermak, two days later this sentence was revoked, and a full pardon and 2,000 roubles sent him by the Tsar. The heyday of Albazin now set in, and a number of suburbs were called into existence, and 2,700 acres brought under cultivation. A crest was also granted to the town—azure, a one-headed eagle, having in his right claw a bow and in his left an arrow.

But a new epoch was beginning—that of the great Chinese Emperor, Kansi—and a blow awaited Albazin from which it was not to recover, while the Amour was at the same time lost to Russia for 200 years. Kansi,

being at war with the Mongols, yet felt that he could not allow the Russians to establish themselves on the Amour. He so far realized the greatness of his adversary that, on seeing the signature of Peter, he bade his envoy Izmailov rise from his knees, and let him be seated in his presence, as no European had ever been before. The immediate cause of quarrel was the acceptance of Russian supremacy by the Tunguz Prince Gantimûr.

In 1667 this Gantimûr migrated to Russian territory with his belongings, and was baptized, previous to which he had knocked on the head his kinsman Zaisan Bakai and his "ûlûs," or following. He is said to have been a great and valiant man like a giant, having nine wives and more than thirty sons, all well armed, wherefore the Chinese begged that he and his might be given up to them as "a turbulent crew." In December, 1669, there came to Nerchinsk the Chinese Sharandai and four companions to "spy out the land" under the guise of traders. Returning a little later, he officially requested of the Voevode the handing over of Gantimûr, the response to which by Arshinski was to send to the Celestial inviting him to "become the man of His Majesty the Tsar." Owing either to misunderstanding of this missive or mistranslation by the Jesuits, the envoy brought away the answer that the Chinese desired peace, yet demanded the surrender of Gantimûr. In default the nomads began hostilities. In April, 1674, a force was equipped under the command of Lanshakov and Chernigovski, which fell on the Mongols at the Yarav Lake and totally routed them.

Meanwhile a great embassy was in preparation at Moscow with the Wallachian Spafarii at its head. At Tobolsk he picked up six boyar's sons, a chaplain, and an escort of forty Cossacks, mounted and on foot. One of the objects was to hire in China men to conduct the construction of stone bridges, and to make general compacts concerning trade. At Irkutsk he saw Gantimûr, who said he would commit suicide rather than be given up, and assured him the

Tsar did not betray his servants. The Albazin people did not refrain from harrying the natives any the more because of his mission. Refusing to surrender Gantimûr, or comply with the demands of Chinese etiquette, he incurred the anger of the Celestial, and was dismissed with (1) a renewed demand for Gantimûr, (2) a request for a more sensible envoy, and (3) an insistence on the ceasing of the Cossack raids. The Chinese, realizing that method was what they needed, now set themselves systematically to drive the Russians from the country. In 1682 the dignitary Lan Tan received the following instructions: "The Locha" (their name for the Russians), "having penetrated into the Amour region, have inflicted injury on our hunters and even slaying. The troops sent by me have returned without due success. . . . You and your comrades are to proceed thither, and, beside the warders and guardsmen sent with you from the capital, take warriors from" (places on the route). "On reaching the Daur and Solon tracts you shall first of all send a man to Ninga (Nerchinsk) to announce your coming to explore, and on this pretext make your way to the town of Yaksa (Albazin) itself, and with all care survey the dwellings of the Locha there, their doings and methods. . . . On the return journey you are to take boat and drop down the Chei-Lun-Tsian" (Amour) "to the valley of the Esuri, and there choose certain of the djanchins and guardsmen with you and send them to the town of Ningut to discover the straight roads to it." When he had finished reading this injunction he took from his shoulders the cape of fox-fur and bestowed it on Lan Tan, as also a bow and arrows.

The upshot was that in the seventh moon of the twenty-second year (1684) His Majesty bade Lan Tan draw up the plan of a campaign against the Russians. An attack by them on the frontiers near the mouth of the Amour, and plunderings and killings there, gave the immediate occasion. There were two routes by which the Chinese army might advance on Albazin, the centre of Russian rule, directly

by the wooded belt that divided the Amour from the thickly populated Chinese territory, or by the Sungari to its mouth, and then by the Amour. The latter was woefully long, meaning three months' river work followed by a month on horseback. It was chosen, however, on account of the greater ease of transporting by water stores and the heavy artillery needed to deal with the Russian fortifications. The town of Aigun was chosen as a base, having been carried across to the right bank of the Amour so as to guard against attacks from the north. Care was to be taken to sever the communications of the Russians and cover the rear of the besieging army at the same time. After the Posts of Dolon, Aigun, Zee, and Tugor had been burnt by the Chinese and the inhabitants carried into captivity, in 1685 the enemy destroyed the hamlets round Albazin and laid siege to the fortress. Tolbuzin had placed it in a state of defence, razing the buildings outside. There were in all 450 men capable of bearing arms, with 300 muskets and 3 cannon: stones were used by those who had no firearms. The besiegers comprised 5,000 that had come by water, and 10,000 by land. They had 100 field and 50 siege guns. Tolbuzin was twice called on to surrender, the first time giving no answer, the second that he would hold out to the utmost. At the outset forty Russians, trying to enter the town on a raft, were cut off and butchered. Assaults having failed, resort was had to surrounding the place with timber and other inflammable material, and the dread of the threatened conflagration at length forced a surrender, say the Chinese chroniclers. The Russians declare it was due to the giving out of provisions and ammunition. At any rate, the inhabitants, headed by old Hermogen, called aloud for it. The garrison was to march out with its belongings with safe conduct to Nerchinsk. By a breach of faith some of the inhabitants were taken prisoners to Peking, where their descendants live to this day. Tolbuzin met on the way a tardy reinforcement, which was just strong enough to cover his withdrawal.

Help meanwhile had been not far off, for even before the siege began a Cossack regiment of 600 men under the German v. Beiton had been despatched from Tobolsk. Their commander is a hero to be remembered. Properly speaking a Scot by origin, in 1667 he was taken prisoner while serving with the Poles, accepted orthodoxy, and was sent to Nerchinsk. In the summer of 1684, owing to the threatened war with China, Prince Shcherbatov raised at Yeniseisk a regiment of 576 Cossacks and archers, with ten guns, and entrusted it to Beiton. There were also supplied 100 "poods" (about $\frac{1}{3}$ cwt.) of powder for muskets and cannon. Among those recruited were many exiled Dissenters and offenders of consequence, an unruly band which, happening upon the late Voevode Vöeykov and his son, plundered and all but murdered them. Beiton not only mastered them, but secured their affection, so they petitioned he might remain their Colonel. In the Steppes the Mongols carried off the Cossacks' horses, but Beiton came up with them at Lake Gusin, recovered the horses, and routed the mauraunders. He also forced the rebels to raise the siege of Selenginsk. Despite tremendous obstacles he reached Nerchinsk with his regiment. His management of such waifs and strays secured him the rank of Colonel.

Vlasov the Voevode determined to occupy the banks of the Amour once more, and sent Beiton with 200 men, who gathered in the harvest that stood on the deserted cornlands. Then, with the aid of the surviving inhabitants, he set to work to rebuild the town. The restored fortification was a square the sides of which measured 40 toises (270 feet). The profile was exceedingly strong, as was shown by the ruins in 1857, having a breadth of from 17 to 30 feet at the top, the depth of the ditches that could then be traced varying from 4 to 6 feet. There were dugouts inside for the inhabitants to take shelter in during a siege.

But ere long the sighting of parties of Manchurs heralded fresh trouble. Tolbuzin, having sent out his right hand

Beiton to reconnoitre in March, the valiant German surprised a small force of Chinese near the Komarski Post, and almost exterminated it. A prisoner declared 2,000 men with 10 guns were massed near Aigün to advance again on Albazin.

The place was once more besieged on July 7, the garrison, numbering some 700 or 800 men, with 8 or 10 guns, to contend with a force of 5,000 foot and 3,000 horse, with 40 guns, handled by the Jesuit Verbier, or Verbiest, "master of the subtler sciences" to the Emperor Kansı; there were some 20 "German folk" also advising the assailants.

Requests for assistance were repeatedly sent to Vlasov; but the handful of men he disposed of were split up among the posts, and had to face a rising of the Mongols and Buriats. Luckily, a man was soon found who struck terror into the nomads, the exiled hetman Mnogogryeshnyi, who for "injurious words against the sovereign and the Empire, and the threat to join the Sultan," had been sent to Siberia, and now made himself a scourge, as he had before done to the Tartars and Liakhs (Poles). A hill near Selenginsk is called "of slaughter" from the blow there dealt at them. None the less, Vlasov's efforts to relieve Albazin remained fruitless. Indeed, it was the gallant defence of that post that prevented more than half of Lan Tan's plan being carried out. The answer to a summons to surrender, conveyed through some captured scouts, was so furious a sally, supported by gun and musket fire from the walls, that Lan Tan had to hasten with his picked Guardsmen to the rescue. The stockade to which the assailants at first trusted having been repeatedly destroyed by burning arrows, they had recourse to regular siege-works with lines of circumvallation, pointing to their being directed by European experts. Their vast superiority in ordnance gave them a great advantage in doing so. Their principal battery was on the island of Artun, directly opposite the river face, and the front towards the place had a length of 120 toises. It had two demi-lunes, the fire of which smote the northern

and river towers. The pits can still be traced in which the Chinese lived. Their guns were of comparatively large calibre, as shot have been found in the walls six inches in diameter. So slow was their progress, owing, they declared, to the false information of a deserter, whom they therefore put to death, that they hit on the plan of cutting the garrison off from the river, and thus wearing them down by thirst. In one of the sorties to prevent this Tolbuzin was wounded in the leg by a cannon ball, and soon died, leaving the command to Beiton. A scanty reinforcement of 70 men appeared before the walls towards the end of 1686, but could not pass the enemy's lines, and had to go back. To crown their difficulties the scurvy broke out, a worse enemy than that without. By April their numbers had shrunk to 82, and the mortality was so great during the winter that the fortress remained encumbered with unburied corpses. Beiton, though himself so sick as scarcely to be able to move on crutches, was the life and soul of the defence. It is said that during a parley he sent the Chinese commanders as a present a pie 36 lb. in weight, made of all the flour there was, as a sign he was not pressed for food. Suddenly early in May the Chinese drew off from the fortress, and ended the investment, and in August withdrew altogether to Aigun. This was due to pourparlers between the Courts of Moscow and Peking, ending in the Treaty of Nerchinsk. The siege had lasted thirteen months, and there were but 20 men left. One of the conditions of the treaty was the dismantling of the walls so stoutly defended.

This was partly due to the mistake of fixing the place for the negotiations on Russian territory, thus enabling the Chinese to take troops there, and demand the evacuation of the Amour country. The terms should have been settled, say, at Albazin, failing Selinginsk, where there were riots between Mongols and Buriats. The terms demanded were very severe—e.g., the evacuation of all territory as far as Lake Baikal, justified on the ground

that Shigaz Khan had once been lord of them. A firm resistance, however, caused Nerchinsk to be excepted. The Jesuits promised to obtain concessions if they were rewarded, and Golovin sent them 40 sables, 100 ermines, and the like, and received—two dressing-cases and two portraits of the King of France, worth at the utmost a rouble. Golovin stood out for the retention by Russia of all the left bank of the river, but he had no means of backing his claims by force of arms. Nay, Lan Tan actually ordered his troops to close in on the town, threatening to resume hostilities should the matter not be settled in favour of his countrymen. Golovin's protests against this flagrant breach of civilized usage were in vain. He had to yield to the threat, and on August 27, 1686, Russia was deprived by treaty of all her acquisitions on the Amour.

After surrendering Albazin, as we have seen, Beiton managed to reach Nerchinsk, and was soon made Chief of the Cossacks at Irkutsk, and later Voevode of Verkhnelensk. He had two sons, whose descendants are still to the fore, and live in the village of Baitonova, eighty miles below Irkutsk. In 1800 the Emperor Paul made a grant of land to his descendants of 10,000 desiatines in Siberia. One of the "stanitsas" of the Amour Cossacks also perpetuates his name.

It remains to say a few words concerning the fate of the Albazin folks taken prisoners when Tolbuzin retreated to Nerchinsk in 1665. They were forty-five souls in all, including a chaplain, Father Leontiev, who managed to carry with him the church paraphernalia and some icons. They were gently dealt with, being taken by Kansi into his Guard, and the bachelors among them given wives. The place of residence told off for them was in the north-east corner of Pekin, where the Father arranged a small chapel in a sometime Chinese joss-house; it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1770, but restored. The newcomers soon learned Chinese, and proved of great service to the merchants, their countrymen, for whom the new treaty

opened the way to Pekin. Their presence also suggested the idea of a mission, to which Kansi consented, requesting also the sending of a surgeon skilled in the treating of external disorders. It reached Pekin in 1710, under the guidance of the Archimandrite Illarion Lejaiski, soon followed by the Englishmen attached to it, the physician Garwit, Laurence Lang as Consul, and Kristits "to watch commercial intercourse." But Illarion died not long after, and the rest of the Mission dispersed, except a priest and his attendants.

In 1720 Captain Izmailov, of the Guards, being well received as Envoy, tried to get the Mission turned into a bishopric, but the intrigues of the Jesuits baffled him. A new Mission, under Archimandrite Kulsitsü was equipped, but never reached Pekin, again thanks to the Catholic missionaries. Kansi soon afterwards died, and his successor, Yung Chang, started a persecution against alien beliefs, and proscribed Christianity.

In 1725 Count Raguzinski again raised the question of the bishopric, to be again refused, though the presence of Russian priests was tolerated, and the Chinese bound themselves to give them salaries. But nothing was accomplished to the advantage of Orthodoxy, as the members of the Mission gave way to drunkenness to such an extent that a certain Yosaf was sent back to Russia in chains for coming to Court in that state, and beating those who tried to remove him. However, a good many of them became qualified as interpreters.

The descendants of the Albazinites fell more and more away from their aloofness. More particularly did they fall into heathenism. A resolute attempt was made by Father Yokinf Bichurin, later known as a famous sinologist, to bring them back to the faith of their ancestors, but only one family would come to the Orthodox church, that of their "elder" Alexyei. His successor, Father Kamenski, tried bribing the younger members with three roubles a month to learn, but with scanty success. Timkovski says of them

at the time : " They have become totally removed from the Russians in spirit, and grown so akin to the Manchurs that it is very difficult to distinguish them ; they speak the same language, they wear the same dress, and in their very manner of life have adopted all the rules of the poor and leisure-loving Manchur soldier, the superstitious devotee of the Law of Shaman." Perseverance, however, changed this state of things to no small extent. During the war of 1868 the Chinese commanders more than once assured the missionaries that their catechumens were the best part of the Pekin garrison in appearance and equipment. The threatened assault not taking place, their fighting qualities were not put to a test.

Of the seventy souls they numbered, twenty-nine migrated in September, 1908, with the Embassy and the Mission to Tien-Tsin, and forty in all escaped the events of that time. They formed, and have continued to form, a company, the commander of which paid Rs. 200 to the Chinese Government for the post. Each private receives from the Treasury a life payment of 3 "tans" of silver a month ("tan" = about 3s. 4d.), and four sacks of rice per annum. Their surnames have vanished, and only a few are still represented by the corresponding hieroglyph ; of the five still extant, Rost, Dû, Khû, Kho, and Ky, the last has no surviving representatives. A monument is at last being raised on the spot at the instance of General Wilderling on a scale commensurate with the merits of the gallant old-time defenders of the "stanitsa."

RESEARCHES ON PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ASIA.*

BY E. H. PARKER.

THIS book of about 1,000 pages (about 350,000 words) reminds us by its very vastness and indigestibility of Mr. (now Sir Henry) Howorth's famous monograph on the Mongols, and it possesses the same defect of its virtues; that is to say, it proves too much, and very often you cannot see the wood for the trees. However, it possesses compensatory virtues which Sir Henry Howorth's two huge volumes did not possess—a painstaking and thorough-going index (which alone takes up over one-tenth of the book), and very excellent maps to which the reader can refer, page by page. We say “reader,” but it is safe to say that no living person, unless he be as enthusiastic about Ptolemy as Colonel Yule was about Messer Marco, will ever methodically read the book right through. Those who are specially interested in Ceylon and India may religiously follow up all Colonel Gerini's arguments about the identity of coast places, and even of interior towns there; specialists in Burma, again, will possibly compare for themselves Colonel Gerini's identifications with those suggested by Burmese and Peguan literature. Of course the author's mother world, so to speak, is Siam, the origins of which country he has more than once lucidly explained (according to his own peculiar lights) in this *Review*. It is easy to see with what *buon appetito* he plies his knife and fork when he at last abandons the strange *ragoûts*, and comes to the *pièce de résistance*—that is, to the dish which suits his palate best, and which he can savour with gusto like an old, tried, and familiar friend. Unfortunately, Siam is such a comparatively unimportant country that few

* By Colonel G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S. Published in connection with the Royal Geographical Society.

people really care much about its antiquities. The Shan or Thai race undoubtedly worked its way down to the sea from the north ; probably most if not all of it was to be found in Yün Nan (and the adjacent provinces of China) at the commencement of the Christian era, when the Chinese began to contest with it possession of that region. To this day the Shan dialects are heard even in easily accessible parts of distant Hainan Island, which belongs politically to Canton. To this day also various forms of the same root language are spoken in Yün Nan ; in the various "Xiang" or "Kiang" states under our own Burmese rule ; in the Sib-song Panna—the purely Cantonese "King" of which place the present reviewer once had the honour of meeting in Tonquin ; in Luang Prabang ; in the various Laos States ; and in Siam.

Colonel Gerini brings an immense amount of learning to bear upon his subject, and it certainly seems that in the main he may be right in making Ptolemy and his works as instinct with reality and truth as Colonel Yule did in the case of Marco Polo. The Siam part appears to be the chief one—perhaps the only one—in which Colonel Gerini is able to speak first-hand, having personally gone over the ground, and, it would appear, taken astronomical observations and studied Siamese books. Indian, Malay, Burmese, and Arab specialists will doubtless be able to check his remarks wherever they impinge upon their privileged domain. China is the speciality of the present writer, and consequently everything else passes away from his cursory notice like "wind goes past the ear," as the Chinese say. The Chinese evidence brought forward by the author is decidedly overloaded : it requires sifting and crystallizing. No sooner are certain facts, or alleged facts, cited, than all of a sudden (quite in the style of Sir Henry Howorth) the author veers round and says, so to speak, "but, on the other hand, it may be this or that." Owing to his not possessing a first-hand acquaintance with Chinese, he often accepts as evidence supposed testimony, which is useless

by reason of its anachronistic quality. To take an instance. Ptolemy's *Adeisaga* he takes to be "Yung-ch'ang, the chief city of the province which Marco Polo calls Ardandan" (i.e., Zardandan, or Karkandan). The words in inverted commas have long been absolutely proved : in fact, Polo's *Vociam* is simply *Yo(ng)-ch'ang*. But Colonel Gerini goes on to tell us that *Videha* and *Vaideha* were the ancient names (the Indian King Asoka having conquered it, according to Garnier, whose exact language, however, is not cited with proper, clear references), and "may be connected with Ptolemy's *Adeisaga* (*Vaidehaghara* or *Vaideha-grāma* ?), although the latter can be more plausibly referred to some word like *Vidisa* or *Vaidisā* (*Vaidisāghar*, *Vaidisagrāma*), which would appear to survive up to the present day in *Yi-hsi*, the name of the circuit comprising the part of Yün Nan in which Yung-ch'ang is situated. Such forms as *Ādisarga* and *Ahisāgara* also suggest themselves to the mind." This blowing hot and cold with one and the same breath leaves even the specialist reader in hopeless doubt as to what he must really believe, and reminds us of nothing so much as what Mr. Balfour calls the "amazing English" of the final part of the recent King's speech, the grammar of which permits of either the Lords or the Commons being switched on as future circumstances may show it desirable. But that is not all. No Chinese had ever set foot in Yün Nan for centuries subsequent to Asoka's time, though it is quite true that the Chinese histories of the Ailao or Nanchao (Siamese) kingdom of ancient Yün Nan allude to important *past* Magadha influence in those parts. It required another 1,400 years or more for Chinese official territorial names to take root in Yün Nan ; and *i-si* or "westwards," like *i-tung* or "eastwards" are current, not to say colloquial, expressions. Indeed, the south part of Yün Nan is similarly allotted to the *i-nan* or "southwards" intendant officer.

To connect a purely modern circuit called the *i-si*, or "western circuit," with Ptolemy's *Adeisaga*, or Asoka's

Videha, is almost as far-fetched as Mr. Herbert J. Allen's suggestion made a year or two ago that the Chinese philosopher Mêng-tsz (Mencius) was probably a mere "frost" and a creation of the diseased mind of Sz-ma Ts'ien—the Herodotus, or father of Chinese history—because the latter travelled all over China [he never went near Yün Nan], and borrowed for his false hero the name (of the modern treaty "port"!) Mêng-tsz, near the Tonquin frontier. All this is suspiciously like what Colonel Yule in his preface humorously describes as the "All-eggs-under-the-grate" style of etymology.

In citing this one instance of impossible derivations (of which there are many more equally brain-racking), the reviewer has no intention of belittling the sterling value of Colonel Gerini's huge haggis, in which there is really a vast quantity of "fine, confused feeding." But what is wanted in these busy times is a *précis* of the whole examination, the solid and proved results of which might easily be reduced from 1,000 to 100—or even to 10—pages. Where, as above, "reasons" glaringly conflict with each other, it is better to give no reasons at all. If any reasons are given, they should be concise and sound to the core, at least so far as available first-hand literature will take us. *Adeisaga* may very well be Marco Polo's *Vociam*, which itself is certainly Yung-ch'ang; but if *Adeisaga* also be so, it must be because the terrestrial and celestial position of *Vociam* corresponds in ascertained fact with the latitudes and longitudes given by Ptolemy for places hard-by, and because cross-distances between *Adeisaga* and other places mentioned by Ptolemy tend to prove this: it is so, in short, in spite of, rather than on account of, Colonel Gerini's Chinese literary speculations.

Then, again (p. 130), the surname, or family name, of the reigning Annamese dynasty is Juan (pronounced in Pekingese as *Zhoo-ahn* in one syllable; pronounced in Cantonese as *Yün*, and in Annamese as *Ngüen* or *Nguyen*—also in one syllable). It is still a Chinese family name,

and one of its best known modern representatives was the celebrated Juan Yüan, a highly literary Governor-General at Canton during the last century. The Annamese often call their own country "*Nguyen* country," and so do many of their neighbours, as the present reviewer pointed out many years ago. This is quite in order so far. The Japanese newspapers invariably call China "*Ts'ing* country," just as, during the *Ming* dynasty, which preceded the present *Ts'ing* or Manchu house, they used also to speak of China as the *Ming* country. In fact, the Chinese to this day call themselves "*Han* men" and *T'ang* men, after those great dynasties. It is much as in Europe we talk metonymically of Prussia and Austria as the "Hohenzollern," or "the Hapsburg." All the old Annamese dynasties, such as the *Tran* (Ch'ên), *Trinh* (Chêng), *Ngo* (Wu), and *Le* (Li), bore Chinese surnames, and all of them originated with military adventurers (probably in most cases half-Chinese) engaged in contesting their country with Annamese rivals or with China, which latter never succeeded in conquering either Annam or Burma. But here comes the rub. Colonel Gerini says, "*Nguyen* I take to be identical with the Chinese *yüan*, meaning "a high level, a plateau," and synonymous with *ching* or *Ch'ïeng* and the Sanskrit *Māla*." Upon this frail and unsupported structure he goes on to account for the origin of the Annamese, "who must have been of the same stock as the *Ch'ïeng*, who peopled *Māla* or *Mālava*-desa—i.e., the present Lāos, before the Lān or Doans." This is the style of reasoning to which the late gifted but erratic Terrien de Lacouperie long accustomed us, and by means of which the still more erratic and impossible Mr. T. W. Kingsmill traces the Chinese to some mysterious "Diks" of his own creation, and to various Indian and Babylonian myths and popular heroes. It appears to us that the identification of this or that part of the Periplus has little or nothing to do with the ethnology of Indo-Chinese tribes: in any case, any such evidence cited should be concise, to the point, and

beyond all suspicion as to its *provenance*. "I take to be identical" would mean nothing, even when written by a profound scholar in comparative Chinese etymology, if without reasons given. Has Colonel Gerini any knowledge of Chinese? Is he aware that the two *ngüen* have quite different sounds from each other in most Chinese dialects; that the tones of the two are totally different; and that the Annamese are as scrupulous about tones as the Cantonese, who speak the most complicated "tonic" dialect in China? Tone is often even more important than sound in China.

A still more hopeless case occurs in connection with the Lolos (p. 120). First Colonel Gerini tells us that the Chinese call the Thai race (Siamese and Shans) *Pa-i*, or "valley barbarians," on the ground (invented by himself) that cultivated valleys are called *Pa* in those parts. It is true that both in Sz Ch'wan and Yün Nan the vulgar speech uses the word *pa* or *pa-tsz* in that signification, but no one ever heard that word as an adjective coupled with *i*, "barbarians." In his "Frontière Sino-Annamite," the late M. Gabriel Devéria gives us every accepted way of writing the sounds *pa-i*, both in Chinese character and in romanized form. But worse is to come: "The corresponding Sanskrit word is *Dronaka*, the sense of which is 'people of the valleys,' or rather of lakes" . . . which "appears to me to be represented by Ptolemy's *Doānai* and the *Ts'wan* of the Chinese." He then proceeds to cite some words of the present writer, showing (1) on the authority of an actual native of the spot (the late Panthay Prince Hassan) what people he supposed the *pa-i* to be, and (2) (a little farther on) that the *Ts'wan* were the present Lolos. M. Edouard Chavannes published last year a valuable pamphlet (*Journal Asiatique*, July and August), conclusively proving from stone documents still *in situ* in Yün Nan that the *Ts'wan* race were what we now call Lolos, the people against whom the Chinese only last year were waging one of their frequently recurring wars—which have been going on for 1,500 years at least. Yet Colonel

Gerini prefers on grounds of the most shadowy description to consider the *Ts'wan* a Thai (*i.e.*, Shan or Siamese) race.

In mentioning these few instances of "crooked thinking," the unworthy critic who pens these lines has no intention of denying to the painstaking author his hard-earned meed of merit. It is the form rather than the essence of the author's arguments and conclusions to which some slight exception is respectfully taken. Indeed, the work is exceedingly valuable, and there is an immense amount of matter raked together from which future generations of Chinese, Indian, Singalese, Javanese, Malay, Burmese, and Siamese students may doubtless extract precious grains of real intrinsic value. It is indeed a life-work; but, on the assumption that Colonel Gerini has still many years of life before him, we should like to see him recast the whole of his results in more introductory and manageable form. He is too fond (*e.g.*, p. 69) of saying, "I am perfectly convinced" of a supposed fact. Even the "convictions" of men of the scientific rank of a Lord Kelvin or a Sir Oliver Lodge are of no greater value than those of an itinerant street-preacher at the Marble Arch if those convictions are merely subjective, and cannot be supported by some specific evidence, or at least by cogent collateral reasons clearly and definitely expressed. Notwithstanding, we think he may fairly claim at least, after all deductions and allowances are made, to have established a good general *prima facie* case, the specific parts of which may be supported, confirmed, altered, or rejected as more reliable evidence is produced in the future; or, indeed, when Colonel Gerini's own undigested mass of testimony has been carefully examined throughout as it stands by competent specialists. So far as regards the Chola and Zabéj kingdoms (the Chinese *Chulien* and *San-foh-ts'i*—*i.e.*, *Chulia* and *Sa-budh-dz* as they would probably have been pronounced by Fuh Kien Chinese) the author is not unconvincing. It is also pretty certain (p. xxi.) that in Ptolemy's time Western

trade had pushed as far east as Hangchow. Other results are also extremely interesting, and unless Arabic, Malay, and Indian specialists discover the same spirit of over-sanguineness that we have animadverted upon in the Chinese sphere, we may temporarily accept Akadra as the Kadranj of the Arabs, possibly even the Annamese Hätien (Chinese *Ho-sien*) of to-day. Aganagara is shown to be Hanoi on purely topical and geographical grounds—supposing we accept Akadra as Hätien. Tēmala is Cape Negrals. *Sera Metropolis* Colonel Gerini would like to identify with Loh-yang, except that he cannot find it on any map! However, he “proves it” to be near Ho-nan Fu, so we may gladden his heart by informing him that Loh-yang *hien* is still the official name of Ho-nan Fu. But what books has he relied upon for proofs, if he cannot find out so simple a puzzle as this? *Lithinos Pyrgos* is Khoten; but, query, is not Tāshkurgān, both in site and meaning, much more likely? Cape Takōla is on the Malay peninsula just above Junkceylon Island. *Aspithra* is supposed to be Ho-p’u (the old name for Lei-chou Peninsula); and the *Magnus Sinus* is the Tonquin Gulf, leading the coasting navigator to *Sinai* or China. *Aindra* is Arakan, which, however, is also identified a little farther on with Urgyra. Sada is Sandoway; and so on with hundreds of other places. *Barakura* is the Chinese *P’o-hui-kia-lu*, which is unexceptionable so far as the mere sounds go; but we require the Chinese characters; and should like, moreover, some confirmation of M. Hervey de St. Denis as a referee for our complete satisfaction, especially as *Shē-p’o* or *Ye-p’o-t’i* (which is undoubtedly Djambadvipa or Java) seems, on account of its false reading as *Tū-p’o*, to be occasionally confused with *Chu-po* or *Chupoti*, an old name for Burma. These points, however, are not seriously contested here, the object being merely to illustrate the quality of Colonel Gerini’s methods, and to suggest an interesting study for those who have the time to go into each point thoroughly. It is to be noticed (p. 70) that the author repeats his old

opinion that the name "Siam" is not derived from the race-name *Shan* (i.e., the Thai race), but that the Shans (so-called by the Burmese) are so styled *because* they gradually occupied the territory already long before their arrival called Siam (Sayām). On this point we cheerfully give way, though we have frequently placed on record a contrary opinion: we give way because we possess no very profound first-hand evidence, and only based our original opinions, for want of better testimony, upon a few *data* personally gathered in Burmese, Burmese-Siam, and Siamese-Malay regions. "Sinologists" are undoubtedly a sorry lot of men, and as one of that ilk we humbly bow our presumptuous head to the well-deserved castigation administered to us as a body upon pages 512-513; but it is rather *trop fort* to be charged with using "shilling atlases" by a man who cannot find out where Loh-yang is. On p. 539 Colonel Gerini returns to the Java question, scouting the idea that *Shê-p'o* means "Java," as those wicked sinologues persist in asserting, and expressing a doubt that the Chinese ever set foot there before Kublai Khan's time. In view of Fah Hien's story 800 years earlier, in which *Ye-p'o* (i.e., *Shê-p'o*) is plainly described on his way back from India to China, it is difficult to believe that our author has done full justice to himself in this particular matter, and has not been too hasty. The "outline history of *Malāyu* as a topographical and historical term," given on pp. 535-539, is particularly interesting, and deserves special study, as also does the 600-year outline history of Palembang or Zabéj, and that of Sumatra. (Both these subjects were treated of in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* about ten years ago.) Like his prototype in style, Sir Henry Howorth of Mongol renown, Colonel Gerini returns again and again to the charge, reopening this or that subject afresh half a dozen times or more, just when a wearied reader would hope it was closed for ever. In fact, we scarcely know where we have him: arguments apparently neglected in one place are found in

another ; evidence unaccountably omitted in one passage turns up unexpectedly in another. Short of settling down permanently for a month or two, and going carefully, line by line, through the whole book—the whole thousand pages—it is impossible to be sure that we have not misunderstood or underestimated the force of the various contentions. More serious ; it is difficult to find his *last word*. We almost wish that some rival sinologue would give us an excuse for knocking him on the head, and thus finding ourselves lodged in gaol for a year or so as a first-class misdemeanant, so that we might methodically work the subject up in peace and quietness. Meanwhile life is too short and interesting ; distractions and superior interests are too many. No doubt Colonel Gerini has thoroughly enjoyed revelling in his pet subject ; we feel almost envious of him. We can, however, only say, *Video meliora proboque ; deteriora sequor*—at least for the present.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 31, 1910, when a paper was read by A. E. Duchesne, Esq., on "The Empire's Debt to the Planter," which was illustrated by limelight views. The Right Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir William Plowden, K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. R. Nundi, Mr. N. K. Naj, Mr. Nalty, Mr. Cox, Dr. R. J. Wicksteed, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. L. Moore, Captain Row, Mr. G. Dean, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mrs. Duchesne, Miss Wedell, Mrs. Butler, Miss Butler, Mr. A. R. Canning, Mr. G. Owen Dunn, M.I.C.E., Mr. Frank Clifford, Dr. and Mrs. Hardy, Mr. H. R. Cook, Major J. A. Thomson, Miss Bradley, Mrs. Grose, Mrs. Liddell, Mr. A. Simson, Mr. Alfred Chatterton, Miss Beck, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mrs. White, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. A. N. Butt, Miss M. T. Johnston, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. H. Luttman Johnson, Mr. M. Ashraf Ali Khan, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is the practice on these occasions for the Chairman to introduce to his audience the lecturer, and to explain his qualifications, and so on, but I think it will be quite superfluous in this case. The lecturer is well known to you; he has read papers to you on previous occasions, and, indeed, I think it would be much more appropriate if on this occasion the lecturer were to introduce the chairman, and explain, if he could, his qualifications. I will not detain you further at this stage, except to remind you how admirably Mr. Duchesne is qualified to treat of this subject, not only on account of his intimate acquaintance with it, but by reason of that literary ability which he so happily enjoys. (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN said that, when he came to listen to the lecturer, he thought they were going to hear a great deal about the advantage which the British possessions in India possessed in having among them the pioneer class of men who worked as planters in that country, but no one who had listened to the lecture could fail to be favourably impressed with the very remarkable account which had been given to them of the progress of the great tea industry in the country. One of the many interesting points which Mr. Duchesne had brought to their notice was the extraordinary care which was now taken in the manufacture of tea.

Some years ago, when travelling to Japan, which was also a tea-producing country—though it had not been mentioned by Mr. Duchesne—there was

on board the steamer an American gentleman who was acting as the agent of one of the largest grocery firms in the United States, and part of his business was to buy Japanese tea for consumption in the United States. This gentleman had taken Lady Plowden, an American lady, and himself through one of the Japanese tea factories, and they were very much struck with the difference between the way in which the manufacture was carried on in Japan and in the highly civilized factories in Assam. No doubt Japan would adopt the same methods as were adopted in Assam.

Mr. Duchesne had told them as much as they could possibly desire about the manufacture of tea, and what an advantage the tea plantations had been to the population of India. All of them who had served in that country must feel the greatest gratitude to the country, and also the deepest interest in its future progress, and in the satisfactory condition of the population there. (Hear, hear.) One of the greatest evils had been cured in that country by the introduction to a large and increasing extent of British capital. He could never understand, and he was sure the chairman would not be able to understand either, how it was that there were gentlemen in this country who, perhaps, had no acquaintance whatever with India, or, if they had any, probably only a two or three months' acquaintance, who told them, on returning to this country, that the wealth of India was being drained away in paying off the interest which the capital which was sent out there had a right to demand. That was not the case. Capital which had been spent in that great country was not only repaying the capitalist his fair share, but it was also of the greatest value to the country in which it was spent. How had the great advances made in railways and irrigation works been brought about? It was mainly by the expenditure of British capital.

What they had heard from the lecturer with regard to the production of tea in Assam, and the effect of its introduction on the population, was not only well illustrated by what Mr. Duchesne had said, but also by the amount of money taken from the plantations in Assam and elsewhere yearly by the workers there. Two and a half millions of money had been paid into the hands of the labouring classes year by year for the work they did. The introduction of tea-planting had been of the very greatest advantage also to the congested districts elsewhere, where labour was paid at the very lowest rate possible. They were now in a position to send their surplus population to places where there was a demand for it, and where there was a handsome reward for the labour that was given. In conclusion, he wished to thank Mr. Duchesne for the excellent lecture which he had given. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said his acquaintance with the planting industry was somewhat indirect, and arose from the fact that a good many years ago he was stationed in the southern extremity of India. He had also to go from time to time into the hills, to which Mr. Duchesne had referred, between the British territory and Travancore, when the coffee industry was dying out, and the tea industry was being introduced. One of the difficulties was that, after clearing away the jungle on steep hill-sides, the soil was liable to get washed away; also, when large areas of trees were cleared,

and a vegetable product like coffee or tea took their place, there was almost inevitably a liability to disease. Mr. Duchesne had mentioned several diseases to which the tea-plant was subject. There was only one vegetable product in India which did not ordinarily suffer in that way—namely, rice; and probably the reason of that was that it was grown with a constant flushing of water, and a constant supply of manure deposited by the silt. He understood that rubber plantations, which were now so abundant all over the East, were beginning to suffer from disease; and he had heard not long ago that the gentleman who introduced rubber from Brazil was planting it in Borneo in small clearings, so that the plant should be in a natural habitat.

When he was in the South of India forty years ago there was no railway, and although the coolies were moving over to Ceylon, they had to be brought from the congested districts by road, and under considerable difficulty. After the South Indian Railway was completed, matters very much improved; but even so, there was a journey of seven or eight miles to get to the steamer, and then an unpleasant crossing. He had been told by a friend of his that there was seldom any excess of labour over demand, and that the price of labour was about eightpence per day; whereas in India the wage of the coolie was two, three, or four annas. When the railway from India to Ceylon was completed, via Adam's Bridge, the movement into Ceylon of the labourers from India would be rendered far easier. Within his own knowledge numbers of coolies returned to India with a considerable amount of cash, and bought houses, bullocks, and land, and became persons of importance in their villages.

MR. J. D. REES said that, although he had not had the pleasure of hearing the lecture, he had glanced through the paper. He ventured to speak on the subject because, having spent the greater part of his life in more or less intimate relations with planters, he would like to take this opportunity of expressing his appreciation of them and concurrence with the lecturer's attitude. With regard to their hospitality, it was an absolutely unfailing spring. There was nobody who had served in any capacity in the East who had not found the planter keeping absolutely open house, whether he was making money or whether he was not. With regard to the suggestion that the planter was a man of luxurious habits, he could testify to their hard work, wholesome living, and healthy condition. The planter was a very admirable example to the countryside in India and Ceylon of what a good, resourceful Englishman ought to be. He was proud to find himself quoted in the text of the lecture.

Reference had been made to a passage in the Census Report, with which he was very familiar, with regard to the coolies who settled in Assam when their terms of indenture were over. That ought to be an answer to the allegation that the planters were ungenerous to their labourers. Men did not settle in a place in which they had been unfairly treated; they flew away from those conditions back to their own villages. But that was not what happened. Such things were always misrepresented. Perhaps he might be allowed to mention one instance. The day before the Election, when it was too late for him to answer it, he saw a placard on

a wall showing Indian coolies, very thin, looking as if they had had no food for a long time, and it seemed that they had been overworked into that condition in order to earn princely dividends for a despicable candidate named Rees. On the other hand, there was a placard, "Vote for Jones," and he was depicted handing sovereigns with more than Oriental profusion to very prosperous and fat British workmen. That was the sort of thing that was done in England. People entirely overlooked the fact that Jones's £1 to the fat man in the picture was no more to him than Rees's four annas to the coolie. The circumstances were entirely different, and the man who got Jones's £1 had to spend the greater part of it in housing and feeding himself and his family, while the other man who got Rees's fourpence was better off.

He was afraid he did not understand whether Sir Arundel Arundel had meant to say that when the new connection of the South Indian Railway was made with Ceylon there would be a greater influx of labour into the island. There had, he thought, been no lack of supply of Indian labour to Ceylon, and communications were so regular between Ceylon and India that they knew in every village how many men were wanted, and the exact number was shipped over; and when they came back they were well known in their villages as the men who had done well abroad. The same thing applied in the Straits Settlements. He believed that the coolies in India were protected too much. The coolie was a very sensible fellow, who knew what was good for him, and it was not necessary for the Government to coddle him in the way in which they did. He had learned that the planter treated him well, and that he could come back with a bit of money. Under these circumstances he thought that a good deal of the regulations was superfluous, and involved much trouble to the administration, which they might be spared, without anybody being a penny the worse. He sincerely hoped that they would never have the British factory legislation applied wholesale in India. A coolie liked to go as he pleased, and if he worked longer than the men in England, he liked it better. The coolie knew the secret of enjoying life better than the English workman did.

Reference had been made to the duty on tea. He had always agitated for reducing the tea-duty, but it was not quite clear that the planter was so seriously prejudiced. He thought it affected the consumer much more, at any rate, than the planter; in fact, it seemed that the planter was doing rather well at present with a duty of fivepence, although he did think it was an anomalous thing that a product like tea, raised by British labour and capital in British possessions, should be taxed to the extent of nearly 100 per cent., when other products, such as cocoa, from foreign possessions, came in on much more favourable terms. (Applause.)

MR. MOORE pointed out that the lecturer had said that the total production of Indian tea was 247 million pounds, and that there were imported in 1909 into the British Isles 160 millions. He asked what became of the other 87 million pounds. He also wished to know what was the total production of Ceylon tea. Further, the lecturer had mentioned 20 million pounds of tea which came from countries other than

India, Ceylon, and China. He would like to know where that amount came from.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you long. I am sure you will wish me to express your appreciation of the admirable paper which has been read by the lecturer, which is expressed in such a lucid manner. There are only two defects in that paper. One is that it does not give rise to any controversy, and I always think on occasions such as this a little contradiction lends animation to the proceedings. There is a second defect which I feel rather keenly, and that is that very little was said about Ceylon! As regards the question of labour, I do not quite agree with my friend Mr. Rees. We can do with a good deal more labour in Ceylon, not only on the plantations, but for public works. I look forward with keen pleasure to the construction of the railway which will bring the coolies across. I am afraid the sea-passage is a drawback. It does not so much matter the coolie being seasick on his way to Ceylon, but it matters a good deal if he has a bad passage on the way back. It must have interested you very much to hear the history of tea from the moment it is planted to the moment it reaches our lips. How few of us realize the labour, the trouble, and the enterprise which is expended on its development. In the future tea will live. Queen Tea is rapidly snatching the sceptre out of the hands of King Alcohol. As the population increases, as the tastes of the people for non-alcoholic drinks extend, the demand for tea will become greater and greater. I cannot but think that the heavy tea-duty must check the consumption. If the duty is reduced, I am sure—and I think experience has shown it to be the case—that there will be a large increase in the consumption. Speaking as an ex-President of the Anti-Tea Duty League, I trust the Government will see its way soon to materially reduce the duty. I do not advocate its entire removal, because I think in that case the market would be flooded with all sorts of unwelcome rubbish. The great advantage of Indian and Ceylon tea is its purity compared with tea which is subject to the rough usages prevalent in China. I entirely agree with, and I desire to associate myself with, the appreciation which has been expressed by the lecturer of the good work which is done by the planter, socially as well as economically. Few men have had more reason to appreciate this than myself. For eight years I governed the Island of Ceylon, which owes its prosperity almost entirely to the planting industry. There were days when the coffee industry reigned supreme there, and when the terrible failure occurred the planter looked in every direction for a substitute, and at last hit upon tea, and now tea has entirely replaced coffee, and is a more flourishing, prosperous, and, I believe, more enduring industry than its predecessor. All classes now reap the benefit of the tea industry, and therefore naturally I feel keenly the great advantage which the tea-planter has proved to the Empire. It was remarked by the lecturer that the tea-planter does not lead a luxurious life. Mr. Rees has dealt with that. The coffee planter used to live a luxurious life. The tea-planter has to work hard, and is a humane employer of labour. I say the bump of benevolence is to be found present in the head of the planter as much as

in any other man. Now and then you may have a young man who is rough with the natives, but he very soon learns respect. The estate becomes unpopular, and his employes soon find out what sort of man he is. The planter is the centre of influence. In his path follow hospitals and schools, and so on. In conclusion, I ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Duchesne for the admirable paper which you have all heard with so much gratification.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

MR. DUCHESNE: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I should like to express my appreciation of the patience with which my audience has listened to my remarks on the dry subject of uninfused tea, and I will answer one or two questions that have been asked. With regard to the United States of America, I did not want to overburden my lecture with figures; but if anybody wishes to have them, I shall be happy to send them a complete table dealing with all the figures with regard to the United States. The progress made there, although not nearly so much as that made in Great Britain, is distinctly encouraging. Indian and Ceylon teas are making very rapid strides there, and from year to year we see a greater increase in the amount of consumption. I must say that is chiefly in the States of the east, where they appear to be forgetting the little affair in Boston Harbour, and to be taking more kindly to British tea. The tea which comes in on the Pacific side comes, of course, from China, Japan, and Formosa.

With regard to the 20 millions, as to which a question has been asked, that comes practically entirely from Java. Great Britain imports no Japan tea of any description. With regard to what the Chairman has said about my making very little reference to Ceylon, I admit that I intended to confine my remarks to the country with which I am best acquainted. Although I have had the pleasure of spending several holidays in Ceylon, I have never resided there; and I think it would be impertinent merely to deal with matters derived from books, and not those which have come under my own personal knowledge. I very much appreciate the kind and courteous hearing which I have received, and I hope I have succeeded in interesting you to some extent in tea and the country from which it comes. (Applause.)

On the motion of MR. J. D. REES, seconded by SIR ROBERT FOULTON, a vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman for presiding at the meeting.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN AND SONS ; LONDON.

I. *Egypt and the Egyptians, their History, Antiquities, Language, Religion, and Influence over Palestine and Neighbouring Countries*, by the REV. T. O. BEVAN, M.A., F.G.S., ASSOC.-INST.C.E., F.S.A., with preface by SIR GEORGE H. DARWIN, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S. To write even a popular book on Modern Egypt and the Egyptians is one of the most difficult tasks imaginable, for an intimate knowledge of the Past is necessary to enable us to understand the Present. But to attempt a description of the country and its people, with their history, antiquities, language, religion, and the influence exerted by them over Palestine and neighbouring countries, is to attempt the practically impossible. The study of a lifetime is alone capable of accomplishing a work of this nature. A knowledge of things not only as they were but as they are—*i.e.*, a deep insight into, and a complete sympathy with, the subject—is absolutely essential to ensure even a partial and limited success. Even then the author must rest satisfied that his effort is at best but a sympathetic attempt. For as they still are, West and East have always been divided—as much in their line of thought and action as in their social and spiritual systems ; so much so, in fact, that we of the West never have rightly understood, and never will understand, the East, any more than the Oriental is able to fathom the underlying motives of our Western utilitarianism. But when we place upon the top of all this misconception and divergence the oblivion of the eternal ages, which goes thousands upon thousands of years beyond our purely human records, how is it possible that we shall ever give these early Eastern civilizations their just right and due ?

From this systematic standpoint the work before us is

much too ambitious, and its title altogether misleading and unjustifiable. Thus, for instance, of the 324 pages that comprise the volume, only 145 treat directly of Egypt and the Egyptians, and the remaining pages, although most of them deal nominally with the question of Egyptian influence over the neighbouring countries, but particularly Palestine, in reality throw no light whatever upon the point at issue. The most that can be said for them is that they touch upon a variety of interesting topics, which are to some limited extent contiguous to it. The field of inquiry which the author has attempted to cover in one modest volume is, in fact, much too wide and varied. As well might one try to bottle up the oceans of our globe or the milky way into a pint measure! Hence the utter lack of concentration about the work that leaves the reader floundering like a reeling derelict on an ocean of Cimmerian darkness.

Contributed originally as a series of articles to the *Hereford Times*, and interesting enough from a journalistic aspect, it is as a book but a mere outline of superficial area without design or central purpose, and altogether deficient in breadth and depth. The contents are a simple jumble of varieties, ranging from a mummified beetle to the immortality of the soul; and again from a précis on shaving and artificial wigs to the origin of the alphabet—the last and best chapter in the book.

Presumably a writer who belongs to the scientific world of modern thought, the Rev. T. O. Bevan, in this volume at least, aims rather at popularity than science. Shrinking from the whole hog, he steers a middle course between the two. With him, as with others of the new theological school, it is the story of the devil and the deep sea over again. Yet even in a popular sense he lacks that florid imagination which alone can make a work like this attractive. Unfortunately, too, his outlook on the Eastern world is through tinted glasses of Western manufacture. So he fails—as Hall Caine has failed in his “White Prophet”—to grasp the soul and spirit of that ancient civilization, out

of which the Hellenic and our own modern culture has arisen: though to give him his due, he appreciates it as fully as the superlatively egotistical European is capable of appreciating anything that lies outside his own Western confines.—ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY FOR INDIA; 9, DUKE STREET, ADELPHI, LONDON.

2. *The Life of John Murdoch, LL.D., the Literary Evangelist of India*, by HENRY MORRIS. This work gives us the life history, in beautiful phraseology, of John Murdoch, who for sixty years was engaged in India in mission work, and who to the very last days of his life gave all his time to his calling, and died, as one may say, in harness. His childhood, youth, early training, and subsequently his experiences through all his life gives to this book a subtle charm, and will be found of much interest to Indians and Anglo-Indians as well as to the general reader.

3. *The Governors-General of India* (two volumes), by HENRY MORRIS. This handy work is a very useful addition to the library of those in any way connected with India. It gives a clear history of British rule in India before the Mutiny; also a record of lives of eminent men who have held the important position of Governor-General of India from the time of Warren Hastings, 1732-1818, down to the Marquis of Dalhousie, 1848-1856. The latter was the last Governor-General of India. All his successors have been Viceroys as well as Governors-General.

4. *Heroes of our Indian Empire* (two volumes), by HENRY MORRIS. This work is written in a clear and simple style, in order that readers who are unacquainted with India may be induced to take an interest in its fascinating history. The work is also given as an antidote to those strangers who have made a brief visit to the East during the cold weather, and have returned with the great idea that they know how to rule the East better than those

who have spent all their lives in the government of the country. We have also given to us brief memoirs of men who, in many capacities, have laboured for the welfare of India. The book is an invaluable friend to the young Civil Servant.

KINGSGATE PRESS; LONDON.

5. *The Dates of Genesis: a Comparison of the Biblical Chronology with that of Other Ancient Nations*, by the REV. F. A. JONES. The purpose of this work is to compare the chronology of the Bible with that of the non-Jewish nations, and the comparison is followed by an important contribution to the subject of chronological astronomy in the form of an appendix. It is a recondite, thoughtful, and withal exceedingly interesting work. It was suggested to the author by the accidental reading of the work of Alexander Hamilton on the subject of "Hindu Chronology." After careful investigation, our author reached the conclusion that Hamilton's statements were, in the main, fully justified. Some of the facts alleged by him, however, Mr. Jones found to be startling; but further investigation convinced him that Hamilton's principal positions could be stated with greater simplicity, and might also be supported by additional evidence. He was thus led to take up the subject, and to pursue the study of it in the light of the works of other chronologists before and since the time of Hamilton. Such, in brief, was the process which led to the preparation of the treatise now before us. The work reveals a thorough interest in the subject on the part of the author: he has spared neither time nor pains in his efforts to sift the facts and establish his conclusions.

If we make an exception of the dates of the Book of Daniel relating to the subject of unfulfilled prophecy, the difficulties of Bible chronology are, roughly speaking, principally found in the Patriarchal Age—the period embraced in the Book of Genesis. It is with the chronology of this period, and largely with Chapters V. and XI., that

the present treatise is concerned. This contentious period settled, the course is cleared, and the student of Bible history has thereafter very little difficulty. The gist of the treatise is to shew the substantial agreement that exists between the chronology of the nations of antiquity and that of the Scriptures of the Jews. Although the chronologies of Chaldea, China, Egypt, and India are mixed up with a good deal that is mythical, and come down to us in forms which appear to present startling diversity among themselves, yet close examination shows that, as far as the great *Æras* are concerned, those chronologies are almost identical, establishing in the main the chronology of Bishop Ussher given in the margins of our Bibles. The subject is, to be sure, exceedingly perplexing, and difficult to deal with in a manner that might render it appreciable and attractive to the popular understanding. The author holds that the Jewish Bible, regarded as a literary record, is as truly entitled to respectful attention as any other ancient writing; and that, while its records should be viewed as true, they may with impunity be subjected to thorough examination and compared with any other available source of information, whatever theory of Inspiration one may hold. The appearance of such a work at the present stage of Biblical criticism is fitted to claim for it the thoughtful consideration of intelligent persons of unsettled belief.

Persons whose reading has been restricted mainly to subjects of a secular nature will find this, like all treatises of a Biblical nature, uninteresting. But let them not too hastily pronounce the treatise to be insipid and useless. As well might the student of theology curiously condemn as uninteresting a treatise on the Higher Chemistry. All subjects whatsoever are unattractive to one whose mind has not been familiarized with them; but for the student of Biblical lore this volume will have a distinct fascination, unfolding, as it does, the chronology of the obscure period of the pre-Mosaic Patriarchs with a degree of freshness, thoroughness, and honesty worthy of all praise. The

volume is packed with information, the most modern as well as the most ancient, and was evidently executed as a labour of love. The author, although a theologian, has no sectarian or proselytizing purpose to serve; he writes in the scientific rather than in the controversial temper. The chronological plates, diagrams, and tables are highly elaborate and (as far as we have found them) exact, while the index and the tables of contents are most useful.—B.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.;
LONDON, 1910.

6. *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources: Fragments towards the Knowledge of the Geography and History of Central and Western Asia, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, by E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D., late physician to the Russian Legation at Peking; Membre Corresp. de l'Institut de France (Académie des Descriptions et Belles-Lettres). This is essentially the work of a scholar as well as a sinologue. The subject dealt with in the two volumes is in reality the carefully revised and improved edition of previously written essays that have been brought up to date. The result of some five-and-forty years continuous study, practically of a lifetime, Dr. Bretschneider's researches are all the more valuable, because they combine the knowledge derived direct from Chinese sources and personal contact in Peking itself, with the close and careful study of the work of other great Orientalists. The great advantage of the system pursued by the author is at once apparent. The investigations made by him on the spot, in the pages of the Chinese authors themselves, obviously enabled him to compare, check, and so correct the work of those writers who, like Colonel Yule, were prevented from having access to the originals, and therefore obliged to confine their quotations to translations by European sinologues that in some instances are inaccurate and

unreliable. A good example of this is afforded by M. Pauthier's bulky work on Marco Polo, also his various essays—the numerous translations he has made from Chinese being, in Dr. Bretschneider's opinion, little entitled to confidence. In strict accord with his design, the author gives us translations of some ancient Chinese accounts of travels in Western Asia. These are accompanied by explanations, which show in every way a painstaking thoroughness and patient yet keen analysis of research. The footnotes are not only copious, but present to the student a wealth of geographical and historical knowledge in themselves. Indeed, in this respect alone Dr. Bretschneider's book is bound to prove invaluable as a work of reference. All the more so because it is purely scientific, and aims at accuracy and truth.

But it is chiefly the record of five Chinese narratives of journeys to the far West of Asia, published in the thirteenth century, that form the subject of these erudite investigations. Of these by far the most interesting account is that of Ch'ang Ch'un, the Taoist monk, who travelled from China to Samarkand by order of Chinghiz, and thence to his encampment in the Hindu Kush. According to Dr. Bretschneider, this claims attention before all others, because of its fuller detail, its observation, and trustworthiness. But well might he have added that it is also noteworthy because of the high character and true nobility of the old monk, as well as for the very luminous glimpse it affords us of the better and softer side of the great Mongol conqueror. The letters alone that passed between these two great men enable us to form an excellent idea of their real character and manner of thinking. The wild man of the mountain, as Ch'ang Ch'un somewhat paradoxically styles himself, the *Master* as he was called by the people, high and low, at once attracts us, no less by his extreme humility and sincerity, than by his unparalleled gentleness and candour. No wonder the sainted man, as the great Emperor called him, inspired veneration and devotion wherever he

went! Chingiz, too, mighty conqueror as he was, is even simplicity itself. His words are well weighed and full of profound truths. He enunciates with clearness and deliberation sound and practical principles of government that are in every way consistent with our advanced twentieth-century civilization. Yet with it all, his thoughts are obviously bent on attaining the shadow of immortality. But the Master is too much of a real saint, much too honest, in a word, to offer him what is beyond either his power or his philosophy. To the student and thinker the past is always interesting. It teaches us how to act in the present, so as to shape the future. But the past of the East, especially that Far East, which is the prolific nursery of the slow-moving but thinking Yellow race, possesses, as the dawn of all civilization, a vivid interest that is entirely peculiar to itself. Like an alluvial deposit which is full of rich nuggets, it is a land of buried treasure. And to all those who, like Dr. Bretschneider, make it the work of their life to unearth these hidden gems, our warmest thanks are indeed due.—ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

7. *India in Primitive Christianity*, by ARTHUR LILLIE. Already the author of a work on "Buddhism in Christianity," the writer now issues a companion volume. If the authorities of missionary societies were to require every candidate for their enterprise to master such treatises as these as a condition of acceptance for their service, missionaries would have less to unlearn, and would feel themselves on securer ground in their intercourse with thoughtful and cultured Brahmans and Buddhists. In a volume of some 300 pages the author gives in nineteen chapters something more than a mere survey of the subject of the relations of Hinduism and Christianity to one another. If the faculty of tireless painstaking shews one to be a genius, then the title to such an epithet is surely made out for the author of this production. He has afforded a yet additional proof that, if one land more than another is the seed-plot of all human knowledge, that land

is India. It was "from the East" that the wise men came. To the devotee of the historic past every inch of that land of mystery is classic ground. To stand on one of the elevations which on every hand surround the "junction" of the Ganges and the Jumna, and there recall to mind the weird and vivid pictures presented in the Rámáyana epic of that far-extending locality, swarming with countless thousands of celestial visitants to witness the ablution of the Ráma Avatár, is fitted to overpower the pensive onlooker with what Wordsworth might have called "thoughts too deep for tears." But let the visit be made alone and in the solemn stillness of dusk : the clatter of *companions* would despoil such visit of the spiritual aroma of the associations, even as of salt which has lost its savour. The author's acquaintance with Brahminical and Buddhistic literature is extensive and thorough, and he has attained to a very deep and sympathetic insight into the nature of its teachings.

The interest of the work is enhanced by numerous engravings of the deities, and of many Hindú and Buddhist temples and other sacred spots. It is full of details embodying and setting forth the essence of both Hinduism and Buddhism, the object of the writer being to trace out and identify vestiges of these religions in Christianity. In doing so he exhibits a very intimate acquaintance with both systems and with the literature of travels and archæology (both ancient and modern) relating to the subject. In a work exhibiting so much careful erudition the occurrence of such a solecism as "extasia" (p. 75) is somewhat of a surprise. But an occasional and quite pardonable blemish aside, the work will be found by all students of the three great religions to be a very substantial contribution to sound knowledge—not only to the student, but also to the general reader. It will be many a long day before such a thorough-going piece of work will find a successor.—B.

8. *A German Staff Officer in India*: being the impres-

sions of an officer of the German general staff of his travels through the Peninsula; with an Epilogue specially written for the English edition by COUNT HANS VON KÖNIGSMARCK, author of "Japan and the Japanese." Authorized translation by P. H. OAKLEY WILLIAMS. Illustrated with photographs and drawings by the author and others. We had the pleasure of giving to our readers a short notice of this volume in our issue of July, 1909, p. 187, on its first appearance in German. The book contains some beautiful illustrations, among which is Lady Blood; the Gaekwar of Baroda; Tiger Shooting—the Prince of Wales's bag as the guest of the Maharaja of Gwalior; the residence of the Maharana of Udaipore; and Lord Kitchener as Commander-in-Chief.

JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON.

9. *Lake Victoria to Khartoum, with Rifle and Camera*, by CAPTAIN F. A. DICKINSON, D.C.L.I., F.R.G.S., with an introduction by the RIGHT HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL, and numerous illustrations from photographs taken by the author. The work of the author of this interesting volume is introduced by the Right Hon. Winston Churchill as an ideal companion and guide through the countries which he describes. The reader will "realize, from his manner of writing, his constant cheerfulness, his stores of resource for every difficulty and emergency, and his full knowledge and understanding of every problem which can confront the traveller or the sportsman. Elephants to him are like partridges, and hippopotami like hares; and he has an eye which can identify the rarest of the antelopes by the twinkle of its tail behind a thorn thicket at a hundred yards. All his advice on the details of big-game shooting is based on long experience interpreted by sound instinct and acute intelligence. . . . Under a literary style which is all his own he has a message to convey. It is the interest and spirit of a genuine sportsman, who knows how to find the game, how to kill, and—much rarer quality—how to spare."

Mr. Churchill further says : " Reading the author's pages brings vividly back to me mellow and charming recollections of British East Africa and Uganda—the stir in camp before daybreak, breakfast under the stars, the long tramp through the dripping elephant grass while the sun rose higher and higher and the thermometer bounded up in company, the oasis of rest in the 'bandas' with food and drink assuming totally new values, the cool of the evening and the long sittings round the camp fire; and the thrill of the stealthy prowling through reed and thicket in the rhinoceros and elephant country, when at each moment the next step might disclose the hide of some unconscious but formidable enemy. . . . The achievements which this book records will become increasingly rare as the years pass by, and Captain Dickinson's jaunty chronicle will one day be studied by a generation of sportsmen who will view the 'good old times' with envious and ultimately unbelieving eyes."

The handsome volume abounds in beautifully executed illustrations from the author's photos of scenery, hair-breadth escapes on land and water, and of inhabitants of the parts through which the author travelled.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON

10. *Hindupore; An Anglo-Indian Romance*, by S. M. Mitra. The author is well known to our readers. Sir George Birdwood is quoted in the preface of the work as follows: "'Hindupore' reveals many of the deepest things of India hidden from Englishmen, even those who may have passed away half their lives in that country. The chapters on 'Pan-Hinduism,' 'Irish Signs and Hindu Signs,' and 'Hindu-Japanese Affinity,' are instructive and most suggestive; and apart from the attractions 'Hindupore' may have for the readers of romances, it has a political value in this momentary crisis in the affairs of India."

The scene of the principal plot in "Hindupore" is laid in Orissa, on the east coast of India. The object of the author is to show us how the British Government are blundering in their English remedies for Hindu grievances. Referring to the Delhi Durbar, one of the characters in the romance is introduced by saying :

"Were you at the Delhi Durbar?" asked Tara.

"Ah, the Delhi Durbar!" said the Nabob, with a sigh. "It was a grand show, that was all. I almost cried when I received the order to attend."

"Order to attend?" exclaimed Tara, in astonishment.

"Well, it was an invitation; but we regard such invitations as orders, for woe betide him who does not accept an invitation from the Government. I told my people that there would be a grand elephant procession to celebrate the occasion, and I had the honour to ride one of the elephants. The procession took place during our Ramazan Fast."

"You mean your Lent?"

"There is a vast difference between the two. You observe Lent by not eating meat only. Our Ramazan is much more severe. From sunrise to sunset we must not let water touch our lips; smoking a cigarette is out of the question. And we Mahomedan Nabobs had to ride elephants, and reach the railway-station through the blinding dust of Delhi. All the arrangements made at Delhi failed to cope with the dust. We read of your London fog, which one could cut with a knife. Well, the clouds of dust during the Durbar were worse, in all conscience. And in that dust for days—while fasting—we had to practise and rehearse our elephants, so that the 'Grand Elephant Procession' might go off without a hitch. Well, Lord Tara, we did everything to please the Lat Sahib. But, as you are kind, I will tell you in confidence that there is a wound in my heart. We are sixty-two millions of Mahomedans, including reigning Princes and Princesses. Surely a little attention might have been given to respect our religious

feelings so far as not to appoint the season of our solemn Fast for the Great Elephant Procession of the Durbar. There was no hurry, for the Durbar was some months after the Coronation itself."

There are two important characters introduced in "Hindupore." One is a frank Anglo-Indian official, Mr. Herbert Harvey, and the other is of a different disposition, named Colonel Ironside. Pan-Hinduism and Hindu-Japanese affinity are two most important subjects in Mr. Mitra's novel. Our space is so limited that we refer the reader to the work for the amusing discussion. Mr. Mitra goes deep into both of these. He compares the Pan-Hindu propaganda with the Hibernian Society of Ireland.

The chapter in "Hindupore" which is likely to appeal to the students of international politics as well as to the students of psychology in history is the chapter on Hindu-Japanese affinity, which is fully explained.

We do not think that since the days of Disraeli's "Coningsby" and "Sybil" politics have figured so prominently in romance. We congratulate Mr. Mitra on "Hindupore," and we have no doubt that it will be translated into other languages and obtain a still larger circulation.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH.

11. *The Original Religion of China*, by JOHN ROSS, D.D. There has been quite a surfeit of books on Chinese religion of late, but Dr. Ross has certainly gone very thoroughly into the matter, and his long practical experience as a missionary, a student of Chinese history, and a sympathizer with Chinese aspirations, fit him in a peculiar degree for the task he has undertaken. The writer of these lines committed a few years ago the indiscretion of publishing a book of his own upon the same subject (*China and Religion*, John Murray, second and

cheap edition, 1910, price 2s. 6d.); he is also publishing this year another work, or series of studies, upon the religions of China, including the "original" religion (*Studies in Chinese Religion*, Chapman and Hall). In the absence of anything to say about Dr. Ross which is not thoroughly complimentary, he thinks he cannot do better than congratulate himself on the excellent spiritual company in which he now finds himself. He would also take this opportunity of advertising his own wares; he would say to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, "Don't buy Dr. Ross's book unless you first buy Mr. E. H. Parker's two books to compare with it.—E. H. PARKER.

PROBSTHAIN AND CO.; 41, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
LONDON.

12. *The Indian Craftsman*, by DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. This little book contains a great amount of material for reflection on the value of craftsmen which was prevalent in our country in the form of apprenticeships and guilds. The volume describes the village craftsman of India, the crafts guilds of the great cities there, the feudal craftsman in India and Ceylon; their standard and regulation, and the religious ideas in craftsmanship. There are important Appendices by Sir George Birdwood on Indian Village Pottery, on Machinery and Handicraft. By Mr. Harell on Craftsmen and Culture; also by Mr. L. Hearn on Craft Gods in Japan. By Ser Marco Polo on Craft Guilds in China; and by Bhikku P. C. Jinavaravamsa on Craftsmen in Siam. The Preface is written by Mr. C. R. Ashbee, who admirably exhibits the aphorism "back to the land" in the various departments of manufacture. He says truly: "All these trust to their hands: and everyone is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited."—*Ecclesiasticus*.

"The hand of a craftsman engaged in his craft is always pure."—*Naomi*.

"Those that are craftsmen of the people are welcome over all the wide earth."—*Odyssey*.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY ; NEW YORK, LONDON,
EDINBURGH.

13. *Court Life in China*, by ISAAC TAYLOR HEADLAND. Mr. Headland has managed to compile a most interesting book, carrying with it many indications of care, veracity, and sound judgment. Thanks to his sympathetic wife, who appears to have been for many years in more or less confidential medical attendance upon some of the Manchu princely families, it has been found possible by him to see much deeper and more widely into the social conditions of the exalted personages of Peking than has hitherto been vouchsafed to other folk ; and certainly Mr. Headland has made the very best of his unique opportunities. Of course, by far the most interesting portions of the book are those dealing with the origin and extraordinary career of the late Empress-Dowager, and her relations with the late Emperor Kwang-sü. It is perfectly well known that she was the daughter of a comparatively petty Manchu official, named Hweichêng, of the Nala clan, and therefore it is a little difficult to understand why, according to Mr. Headland, she, or her minions, should have made so much mystery with Mrs. Headland about her birth, and why she should have been half-furtively described as the daughter of one Chao. Of course, it is physically, if not legally, possible that she was only adoptive daughter of Hweichêng, and, if Chao be the Chinese surname of that ilk, that Hweichêng may have adopted a Chinese girl as one of his daughters ; or, still more probably, she might have been the daughter of a Chinese bannerman. For instance, the present (Chinese) Viceroy of Sz Ch'wan Chao Erh-sün, as also his brother, the Generalissimo on the Tibetan frontier, Chao

Êrh-fêng, are both bannermen—that is to say, organized under one of the eight military banners after the fashion of genuine Manchus, and thus presumably marriage-*fähig* and adoption-*fähig* with true Manchus. But there is no evidence that such is the case as yet known to the public, and in view of the numerous other cock-and-bull stories so often repeated to the effect that the old Dowager was merely a Cantonese slave, this matter really ought to be authoritatively cleared up. For the rest, it may be said that no book has yet been published about palace life—not even the narrative published by Miss Carl—which gives us such a vivid picture of how the high-placed Manchus are born, educated, married, and buried; how they live, what are their refinements and failings, and how the most exalted of them intrigue around the throne. The story of the rise and fall of the late Emperor is particularly touching. We can confidently recommend this book to all classes of readers.—E. H. PARKER.

HENRY SOTHERAN AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, 1839-1908*, by S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., and C. A. BAMPFYLDE, F.R.G.S. This finely illustrated and tastefully got-up book will give much pleasure to all those who are interested in the curious history of the principality of Sarawak, and of the two Englishmen who have, in spite of many vicissitudes, retained their position as its Rajahs. The first Rajah (Sir James) Brooke, during a strange romantic voyage of adventure, arrived in Borneo in 1839, bearing a letter of thanks to the Rajah Muda from his Governor of Singapore. Captivating the Rajah Muda, he was later offered the country of Sarawak, "with its government and trade," if he would assist in subduing these revolted districts. The history of the making of Sarawak which followed, well told here, is a very fascinating one. The white Rajah subdued the rebels, rooted out piracy—in spite of great opposition and much calumny in England, for, like most adventurers, he was

frowned on at home—came successfully through a rebellion of the Chinese, in which horrible murders of Europeans took place; vanquished many upstart pangirans, and finally obtained reluctant recognition of his little state from Britain in 1863, before his death at his Devonshire home in 1868. Two nephews went out to him, and it was the second, called the Tuan Muda, who succeeded him, and is the present Rajah Sir Charles Brooke. Educated for his position by his uncle, under his rule Sarawak has prospered. British protection was accorded in 1888, but it is to be noted that then it was offered not for the sake of Sarawak and its people, but to keep safe some Imperial interests, lest the small state should be snapped up by another encroaching Power.

The second part of the book deals with the reign of Sir Charles. It details his difficulties with the effete Court of Bruni and with the Sea Dayaks; it describes the finances, trade, industry, and religion of the country, and so adds very materially to our knowledge. The first chapters are very important also to us, as they deal with the different races of the natives, and with the early history of Borneo. As everyone knows who dabbles in the history of the Indian Archipelago, we greatly want more books of this kind to help to elucidate the early history of the islands and the Malayan races. We are grateful, therefore, to the Rajah for his Preface, and to the joint authors for all the information contained in this work. In the next edition we hope, however, they will correct this strange *lapsus* on page 47, which calls Penang "Prince Edward's Island"!—A. F. S.

SEELEY AND CO.; LONDON.

15. *Heroes of Modern India: Stirring Records of the Bravery, Tact, and Resourcefulness of the Founders of the Indian Empire*, by EDWARD GILLIAT, M.A. No fitter tribute could be paid to the life and memories of those great, noble and remarkable men, whose lives and deeds have been so graphically and interestingly recounted in this

charming and fascinating book. A copy of it ought to be in the possession of everyone—no matter whether military or civilian—on first proceeding to India for service in that vast Empire, for perusal and study, as an incentive to emulate their great deeds and devotion in the service of their country, and for the honour and glory of the justice of the British rule in the Indian Empire. No more interesting work on India as it is and was from the time it came under the sway of British rule can be found anywhere. As a class-book for the study of India, its people, their classes, castes, customs, and prejudices, it is eminently suited for instruction, as also as a prize-book for proficiency in Indian history.—W. G. C. J.

ROWLAND WARD, LIMITED; LONDON.

16. *Thirty-seven Years of Big-Game Shooting in Cooch Behar, the Daars, and Assam: a Rough Diary*, by the MAHARAJAH OF COOCH BEHAR. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar was taken out to his first shoot in 1871, and has since shot with every variety of weapon, "from a 4-bore double-barrelled rifle firing 15 drams of black powder to the smallest bore modern up-to-date cordite rifle." In this book he gives us his rough diary, which begins in exhaustive detail in 1881, and which will be of real value to sportsmen. Not only is the daily bag carefully recounted—and it must often make a *Shikarri's* mouth water from its list of tigers, rhino, elephants, bison, barasingh, and other "small deer"—but the chief trophies are described, their measurements given, and in a great many instances their photographs are given also. The illustrations, which are very numerous, are a feature of the handsome work. The diary ends in 1907, and we are then given records of the big game shot. A foreword about the country in which he has operated, and an appendix about rifles and guns by the Maharajah, will also be read with zeal by the sportsman at home, who will envy his unique opportunities and those of his fortunate guests.—A. F. S.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Anglo-Russian Literary Society. In the Proceedings of this Society for the quarter ending December last, there is a good deal of lore in regard to subjects connected with Russian literature and language and Russian libraries. There is a very interesting paper by General Tyrrell on the "History of Russia in the Balkans in its Various Stages and Vicissitudes."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*United Empire* (The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*; *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November, December, 1909, and January, 1910 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and London);—*The Triumph of Valmiki*, from the Bengali of H. P. Shastri, M.A., by R. R. Sen, B.L. (Chittagong, 1909; London: Luzac and Co.);—*An Introduction to the Study of Obadiah: A Dissertation*, by George A. Peckham (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910);—*Sankhya-yoga-Karma-yoga*, or, *The Philosophy and Science of Religion*, by Swami Atmananda;—*Muslim Chivalry*, by Yehya-en-Nasr Parkinson (Rangoon: British Burma Press; London:

Luzac and Co.);—*A Second Handful of Popular Maxims Current in Sanskrit Literature*, collected by Colonel G. A. Jacob, Indian Army (Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay);—*Agricultural Industries in India*, by Seedick R. Sayani (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1908-1909, and Supplement* (Bombay Government Press);—*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1909* (Punjab Economical Press, Lahore);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1909*;—*Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology for the Year 1907-1908* (part i., *Administrative*), (Simla: Government Central Branch Press);—*The Targum to the Song of Songs*, translated from the Aramaic by Hermann Gollancz, D.LITT. (London; Luzac and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Zambezia*, by R. C. F. Maugham (London: John Murray);—*The Irshād Al-arīb ila Ma'rifat Al-Adīb*, or, *Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt*, edited by D. S. Margoliouth, D.LITT., and printed for the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, vol. iii., part i. (London: Luzac; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-din*, par E. Blochet (London: Luzac and Co.; Leyden: E. J. Brill);—*Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, by William A. Cadbury (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.);—*Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, by Sven Hedin, in two vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*A Journey in Southern Siberia: The Mongols, their Religion and their Myths*, by Jeremiah Curtin (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd.);—*Wisdom of the East. The Burden of Isis: Being the Laments of Isis and Nephthys*, translated from the Egyptian, with an introduction by James Teackle Dennis (London: John Murray).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—In opening the British Parliament, His Majesty the King referred to India in the following terms: "In conformity with the important measure of last year for extending the functions of the Legislative Councils in India and increasing the number of their members, those bodies have been elected and have met. They have entered with good promise upon the enlarged duties and responsibilities entrusted to them."

The Press Bill, introduced by Sir Herbert Risley in the Viceroy's Council on February 4, enables local governments, without undertaking precautions, to suppress newspapers which are mischievous though not technically seditious. Every journal started after the introduction of this Bill must make a deposit not exceeding Rs. 5,000 (£333). Existing journals are exempted unless they offend. On a repetition of the offence the deposit will be forfeited unless a successful appeal is made to a special tribunal of the High Court. A fresh licence may be obtained on enhanced security, but a second forfeiture involves confiscation. A debate took place on February 8 on the Bill, which was brought to a close by the Viceroy's announcement that the Government had decided to release the persons sentenced to deportation during the last fourteen months.

The sections of Act 6 of 1907, preventing seditious meetings, is extended to Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, the Central Provinces; while Criminal Act 14 of 1908 is extended to Madras, the Punjab, and the United Provinces.

Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in laying the foundation-stone of the Senate Hall of Allahabad University, said it was a reproach to public spirit of the United Provinces that hitherto no

effort had been made to give the University a local habitation. He deplored that the University education gave a general tendency to flood the country with a continuous stream of candidates for the Government service and the legal profession. He advocated the development of the resources of the country by the organization of a practical side in the educational system.

Mr. Jackson, a collector of Nasik, was shot dead by a native named Kanhere, who was arrested together with many who were alleged to be his accomplices in the outrage, and who have since admitted their guilt. The trial of the prisoners has started, and is still in progress when we go to press.

The financial statement of the Government was introduced in the Legislative Council on February 25 by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. A surplus of £270,000 was announced. The railway receipts were rapidly improving, and a large saving had been effected in the expenditure for military purposes and on public works. The rise in the price of opium in China unexpectedly brought in £1,000,000. A surplus of £246,000 was budgeted for next year, and this would be obtained by fresh taxation on liquors, tobacco, petroleum, silver, and an increase of the stamp duties.

The new taxes proposed by the Budget were passed on March 4.

The All India Moslem League held a session at Delhi, the dominant feature of which was the determination to make the utmost of the reforms for the permanent benefit of the country. There was an ardent desire to co-operate with all communities in accepting the British Raj. The Aga Khan, in a speech of power and earnestness, appealed to all communities to join with the Government and with each other in the general development of the country. He urged the co-operation of Mahomedans and Hindus in securing the specific interests of each. In the address the Aga Khan outlined a constructive programme, including

the advancement of education, agriculture, commerce, and industry. In concluding, he declared that the greatest duty of all races was to prove their loyalty to the Sovereign. At the final sitting a resolution was passed expressing admiration for the heroic and patriotic struggle of the Indians in South Africa, urging the Indian Government to prohibit indentured labour, and appealing to the Imperial Government to intervene. A subscription for the Indians in South Africa was opened, and £200 collected on the spot.

The Aga Khan, in acknowledging a complimentary address presented to him at Bombay on behalf of the Moslem community, said that the future development of the Constitution would depend entirely upon the practical use which the people of India made of the reforms. He urged Moslems to assist the Government to remove the causes of crime, and to send out missionaries to preach loyalty.

The Indian National Congress was opened at Lahore on December 27 last, at which 500 delegates attended, 200 of whom were Punjabis. The presidential address, by Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was appointed President in place of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, occupied two hours, and covered in minute detail a whole range of Indian political and economic questions. It attacked the regulations for the application of the Indian Councils Act. The Congress closed on December 29.

One hundred and seventy lacs of rupees have been sanctioned for irrigation schemes in 1910-1911.

The Aga Khan has contributed Rs. 4,000 (£266) to the Bombay fund in aid of Indians in the Transvaal.

An important change has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State in the constitution of the enrolled list of the Finance Department. Hitherto the rule has been that two-thirds should be Europeans and one-third Indian. The proportion in the future is to be half and half.

The full bench of the Chief Court at Rangoon, with only

one dissentient, has decided that the Burma legislation ousting the jurisdiction of the Law Court on land questions in which the Government is concerned is *ultra vires*.

Judgment was delivered in the High Court at Calcutta on February 18 in the Alipur bomb conspiracy, on the last five persons charged with complicity. Three were acquitted, while two were sentenced respectively to five and seven years' transportation.

The Assam-Bengal Railway has been linked with the Eastern Bengal Railway. Calcutta is thus brought within twenty-four hours of Gauhati, and within thirty hours of Shillong. The extension is from Golakganj to Gauhati.

We regret that in our summary of last quarter we made a slight mistake in referring to Mr. Apar, who had been elected to the New Councils. We described him as a prominent merchant, whereas Mr. J. G. Apar is a retired barrister, formerly clerk of the Crown. The confusion arose from the fact that there is a Mr. H. H. Apar, who is a cousin of the barrister.

On the occasion of New Year's Day, 1910, the following appointments, among others, were made by the King:

Order of the Star of India.—G.C.S.I.: Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, G.C.I.E., Begam of Bhopal; His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraja Sir Sardar Singh Badadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jodhpur in Rajputana.

K.C.S.I.: Sir James Lyle Mackay, G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., a Member of the Council of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India; Sir Harvey Adamson, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; Lieutenant-General Sir Beauchamp Duff, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.I.E., Indian Army, Secretary in the Military Department, India Office; Ihtisham-ul-Mulk Rais-ud-Daula Amir-ul-Omrah Nawab Asif Kadr Saiyid Wasif Ali Mirza Khan Bahadur, Mahabat Jang, Nawab Badadur of Murshidabad, Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for making Laws and Regulations; Lieutenant-Colonel James Robert

Dunlop Smith, C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Army, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

C.S.I.: Commander Sir Hamilton Pym Freer-Smith, R.N. (retired); Benjamin Robertson, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry; Andrew Edmund Castle Stuart, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Member of the Board of Revenue, Madras, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Madras for making Laws and Regulations; Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) William Riddell Birdwood, C.I.E., D.S.O., A.D.C., Indian Army, Colonel on the Staff, Kohat Brigade; Norman Goodford Cholmeley, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of a Division in Burma, on deputation under the Government of India.

Order of the Indian Empire.—K.C.I.E.: Theodore Morison, Esq., a member of the Council of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Salute.—The King has been graciously pleased to approve the increase of the salute of His Highness Sir Sher Muhammad Khan Zorawar Khan, G.C.I.E., Diwan of Palampur, from eleven to thirteen guns, as a personal distinction.

In pursuance of the Indian Councils Act of last year, Maharaja Sir Venkata Panga Rao has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, and Mahadev Bhaskar Chaulak, a Vakil of the High Court, has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the creation of the appointment of architect to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam for a term of five years, and has appointed Mr. J. F. Munnings.

Mirza Ali Abbas Baig has been appointed a member of the Council of India in succession to Saiyid Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., who has resigned for reasons of health.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The Rana of Barwanī (Central India) has been invested with ruling powers. He declared that he would tolerate no political opinions which were not consistent with his own sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the British Crown and Government.

The Maharaja Scindiah of Gwalior has been promoted from Colonel to Major-General in the British Army. His father enjoyed a similar rank. The Maharaja is Honorary Colonel of Skinner's Horse.

Sir Carrimbhoy Ebrahim, the distinguished Khoja merchant, has given £30,000 for the improvement of scientific training to encourage research bearing especially on industry, and for the provision of scholarships for the scientific training of Mahomedan boys.

AFGHANISTAN. — The Ameer summoned a special assembly of his leading subjects, and issued strict orders regarding the suppression of unrest, and the better guarding of the roads. A telephone system is being installed at Jellalabad.

The Ameer's brother, Nasrullah Khan, has ordered special officers to proceed to Candahar and other military centres to introduce Turkish drill, which was recently taught at Cabul.

TIBET.—Owing to constant friction between the Chinese authorities and the Tibetans, the situation in Tibet became serious. A petition was sent to the Emperor of China, praying that he would take measures to remove the causes of discontent.

The Chinese Government has given the British Minister renewed assurances regarding the administration and its attitude towards religious questions.

The Dalai Lama, with several Tibetan notables, fled from Lhasa and crossed the frontier into India. His flight is supposed to be in consequence of the approach of Chinese troops in the Eastern province of Kham, and the strengthening of the garrison at Lhasa. The Dalai Lama arrived in Calcutta on March 14, and was received with

military honours by the Viceroy, who immediately afterwards visited the Lama.

PERSIA.—Ala-es-Sultaneh, the Foreign Minister, was interpellated in the Mejliss as to the steps he had taken to procure the departure of the Russian troops from the country. He was unable to offer an adequate explanation of his alleged inaction in the matter, and the House unanimously voted his dismissal.

PERSIAN GULF.—To check the gun-runners in the Gulf, a patrol from His Majesty's cruiser *Fox*, in conjunction with a detachment at Jask, destroyed 1,350 rifles and 160,000 rounds of ammunition on January 16. An expedition from His Majesty's cruiser *Hardinge* and the troopship *Hyacinth* landed at Jask, and attacked an arms depôt on the River Jagin on the night of January 26. They captured 760 rifles and 50,000 rounds of ammunition. Three Afghans were killed. There were no British losses. This has so far checked the gun-runners that the trade has slackened, and there has been little or no fighting recently. The Afghan runners have mostly left the Mekran Coast, while the traders from Muscat, unable to penetrate the blockade, have ceased trying to do so. It is intended to withdraw the troops to Bombay.

EGYPT AND SUDAN.—The Khedive arrived at Cairo on January 25 on his return from Mecca, and received a most cordial welcome, the town being decorated with flags and triumphal arches. A great illumination took place at night.

Bontros Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, was shot by a Nationalist student on February 20, and died on the 21st at Cairo. The assassin, who was captured, declared he had no accomplices, and is not connected with any secret society. The State funeral of the Prime Minister took place on February 22.

A new Ministry was formed on February 22 with Mahomed Said Bey as President of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of the Interior.

The construction of the telegraphic line between Niamey, Zinder, Lake Chad, and Goure—over a distance of 930 kilometres—has been completed.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—Tringganu, which, although one of the States ceded by Siam to Great Britain under the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of last year, had always preserved its independence, and had refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Siam, has now joined the Federated Malay States.

CHINA.—The Postal Convention between China and Japan, whereby the latter retains six post offices in Manchuria, and the Chinese mails are carried by the South Manchurian Railway, was signed on February 9, 1910.

The Customs revenue for 1909 is larger than in any previous year except 1906, and its sterling value is a quarter of a million higher than in 1908. The present year opened with marked revival of trade, and a growth in the exports. There is also a large increase in the inland trade. The Post Office has had an increase of 480 new offices.

Mr. H. C. F. Finlayson, M.A., has been appointed Professor of Political and Economic Science in the newly-established Imperial University of Peking. This is the first professorship of its kind in China.

KOREA.—A serious outbreak of insurgents is reported from South Phongan. Twenty Japanese settlers were murdered.

NATAL.—General Lord Methuen, G.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Natal in succession to Colonel Sir Matthew Nathan, G.C.M.G., who assumes the duties of Secretary to the General Post Office.

UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—Captain H. E. S. Cordeaux, Commissioner for the Somaliland Protectorate, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Uganda Protectorate.

Brigadier-General Sir W. H. Manning has been appointed Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief for the Somaliland Protectorate.

SOMALILAND.—A force of 2,500 of the Mullah's mounted dervishes attacked the Mijertain tribesmen. They captured 14,000 camels, killed many people, and burned one town. The Mullah's followers lost forty men and ninety horses. Further attacks were made on friendly tribesmen, many of whom were killed, and 20,000 camels were looted.

CONGO.—At a meeting of the Colonial Council held at Brussels on January 29, the Colonial Minister announced that it had been decided to abandon at once any system of forced labour in the Congo. This does not only apply to the Grands Lacs Railway, which is nearing completion, but also to the Quellé and Majambe lines, which will be started shortly.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—The Customs and Excise revenue of the Commonwealth for the half-year ended December last was £5,783,000, an increase of £279,000 as compared with the second half of the year 1908.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Disastrous floods have occurred in New South Wales, causing widespread devastation. Stock, houses, and crops were destroyed, and many townships were practically wrecked.

Dr. Cullen has become Chief Justice of New South Wales.

JAMAICA. — In opening the Legislative Council on February 22, the Governor announced a surplus balance of nearly £140,000, which will largely be used for public buildings, roads, and other improvements, leaving a floating balance of £50,000, besides the permanent insurance fund of £100,000.

CANADA.—The exchange of ratifications with respect to the trade convention between France and Canada took place in Paris on February 1, and the treaty is now in operation.

The Canadian Parliament has formed a permanent Commission for the purpose of placing upon a proper foundation the conservation of Canada's natural resources. The Commission is a body constituted for the purpose of collecting exact information and advising upon all questions of policy.

that may arise in reference to the actual administration of the natural resources where question of their effective conservation and economical use is concerned. The Commission has neither executive nor administrative powers, and is merely an advisory body.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Newfoundland papers on January 28 were all printed on paper made at the new mills of the Colony. Lord Northcliffe, through whose enterprise these mills were established, received a congratulatory telegram from the Premier.

The Newfoundland Budget shows an estimated revenue of £650,000, an increase of £80,000 as compared with last year, and an estimated expenditure of slightly under £600,000.

OBITUARY.—The following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter :

Edgar Swan, C.E., late Karachi and the Scinde and Panjab railways ;—Hugh David Sandeman, late Indian Civil Service ;—James Erskine Oliphant, Bombay Civil Service (retired) ;—Alexander Winkworth Collie, Principal of the Hindu College, Srinagar ;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Barry, Indian Medical Service (Burmese expedition 1886-87) ;—Major Charles Samuel Weston, Indian Army ;—Captain Hobbs, formerly of the 30th Regiment (Alma, Inkerman, Crimea) ;—Colonel H. T. Curling (Kaffir war 1878, Zulu war 1879, Afghan war 1880) ;—Colonel E. C. Browne (Zulu campaign, Transvaal campaign 1881, Burmese expedition 1885-86) ;—Major-General William Sidney Smith Mulcaster (Indian Mutiny, Oude) ;—Major-General F. Eteson (Burmese war 1852-53, Pegu) ;—Surgeon-Major-General Charles Dodgson Madden, C.B., Hon. Surgeon to the King (Crimean war, Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian campaign) ;—Colonel H. F. N. Sewell, late of the Indian Army (Indian Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Brockman (Kaffir war 1851-52, Central India Field Force 1858-59) ;—C. H. Berthond, Civil Service ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward William Evans (Crimea, Hazara campaign 1868) ;—Mr. Colin Harington Browning, Principal of Dacca College ;—General Sir Thomas Wright, of the Indian Army ;—Major-General T. W. Mercer, Indian Army (2nd Sikh campaigns 1848-49) ;—Major-General W. F. Sandwith (1st Brigade Central Indian Field Force 1858, Afghan war 1880) ;—Colonel Reginald Garnett, C.E. (Afghan war 1878-80, Egyptian expedition 1882, Hazara expedition 1888) ;—Major J. R. Pearson (Lucknow, Rohilkhund campaign) ;—Lieutenant-General L. Farrington (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Punjab campaign 1848-49) ;—

Colonel J. F. Hilton (Hazara expeditions 1888 and 1891);—Major C. C. W. Vesey (Crimea 1855, Kotah, Gwalior, Central India);—Captain C. H. Chapman (Afghan war 1879, Burmese expedition 1887);—Major-General Charles B. Lucie-Smith, Madras Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, etc.);—Surgeon-General A. Eteson, c.B. (Indian Mutiny 1857-58, Afghan war 1879);—Major S. Greville (Sikh war 1845, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell Mollan, c.B. (Indian Mutiny);—Major J. C. Farquharson (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Charles William Hodson, officiating Secretary to Government of India, P.W.D.);—Frederick Parker Baker, late of the Bombay Educational Department);—Evelyn Francis Sanders, of the Bengal Nagpur Railway);—Edgar Walker, late Captain Madras Native Infantry);—John Sinclair Bissell Harvey, Royal Garrison Artillery);—Lewin Bentham Bowring, c.s.i., formerly Private Secretary to Earl Canning, Viceroy of India);—William Granville Sharp, late Lieutenant-Colonel Indian Army);—Deputy-Surgeon-General Robert Rouse, (late) the Frontier Force I.M.S.);—Commander Thomas George Rocastle Finney, of the Royal Indian Marine);—Lieutenant-Colonel T. Holland (Persian expedition 1856, Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian expedition 1868);—Major James John Loudon M'Adam (Indian Mutiny);—Charles Albert Bull, late of Public Work Department, India);—Major-General R. M. Westropp, Indian Army (retired);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Mollan, c.B. (Indian Mutiny);—Lionel Gisborne Smith, of the Indian Imperial Forest Service);—James Casamayor Farquharson, late 2nd Bombay Cavalry, and late Governor H.M. Convict Prison, Portsmouth);—Frederick Filleul Hensley, late P.W.D., India);—Colonel Henry Macfarlane Norris, late 2nd E.L.I. and Madras Staff Corps);—Harry Stuart, P.W.D., India (retired);—Colonel John Greenlaw Forbes, c.B., late Royal (Bengal) Engineers (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel John Campbell Gunning, late Indian Army);—Colonel John Ramsay Frederick Sladen (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1886, South African war);—Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Joslen, of the Indian Civil Veterinary Department);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. Inglis, Divisional Judge, Peshawur (Indian Army);—Colonel Henry Macfarlane Norris, late 2nd E.L.I. and Madras Staff Corps);—Vincent Joseph Robinson, c.i.e.);—Major-General William Mussenden (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General Firth, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (China war 1858-59, Burmese expedition);—Colonel James Allardyce, late of the Hon. East India Company, 2nd Madras European Light Infantry and Madras Staff Corps);—Colonel A. F. P. Harcourt, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny);—Major James Hugh Gwynne (Burmese expedition 1885, Hazara expedition 1891, China 1900).

March 15, 1910.

M.C. ✓

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